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JOURNEY

TO

TWO OF THE OASES,

&c. &c.

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Map
of
TWO OF THE OASES.
1819.
THE GREAT
WESTERN OASIS
GREAT
OASIS
BYAN
DESERT

JOURNEY

TO

TWO OF THE OASES

OF

84497

UPPER EGYPT.

BY

SIR ARCHIBALD EDMONSTONE, BART.

LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

1822.

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PREFACE.

THE extraordinary progress which has of late years been made in almost every branch of general knowledge, has necessarily created a spirit of investigation and enquiry, which perhaps never existed at any former period. It is not a little to the credit of the present generation that it should have taken advantage of the tranquillity which generally prevails, to explore countries, and penetrate into regions, hitherto considered impervious and unattainable. Nor is it only the North Pole, or the interior

of Asia and Africa, to which modern researches have been successfully directed. Even in the districts best known to us, much remained to be examined and learnt, and in none more than in those countries which the genius and achievements of antiquity have immortalized.

But to no portion of the ancient world has the attention of modern travellers been directed with greater zeal than to Egypt. Though it cannot be denied that that country is not so strongly bound to us by the tie of early association; that every spot has not its recollections, nor every stone its history: yet the perfection, the number, and, above all, the stupendous grandeur of the ruins which remain to attest its an-

cient magnificence, create sensations of wonder and admiration not to be excited elsewhere. Nor is it less a matter of curiosity and surprize that, by means of the sculpture and painting, which every where abound, we are let into an intimate acquaintance with the domestic economy of a people who had fallen off from their splendour before authentic records begin; and whose history is only known to us through a fabulous or confessedly doubtful medium.

Notwithstanding, however, the mine of antiquarian riches which is to be found in Upper Egypt, the Pyramids, till within these very few years, were considered the "Ultima Thule" of the most ambitious travellers: and though

one or two bold adventurers had succeeded in penetrating as far as the confines of Nubia, this could only be done at certain favourable opportunities, and even then was attended with no slight degree of difficulty and danger.

But events have of late occurred materially to alter the state of that ill-fated country. Since the distracted tyranny of the Mameluke Beys, has been replaced by the sturdy despotism of the Turkish Pashas, the government has assumed a degree of strength and security almost unknown before: the consequence is, that not only have the fellahs* been reduced to a state of perfect subordination; but even the Ber-

* The population of Egypt, who are not Turks, are called in general fellahs.

bers of Nubia, who join Egypt on the South, and the wandering Arabs, who long infested its borders on the West, have been rendered tributary and dependant.

It was under these favourable circumstances that I landed in that country at the end of the year 1818, preparatory to a general tour of the Turkish dominions; and the Oases having been represented to me as objects of curiosity, which might probably now be investigated with safety and success, I had contemplated, if not actually determined upon, a journey to them, previous to my arrival in Egypt. Though I have treated the subject at some length hereafter, it may not be

improper to say a few words here as to their number and situation.

The Oases have been generally supposed both by antient and modern geographers to be three in number, nor am I aware that this opinion had ever been controverted before. The most northern is that of Siwah, which has been explored by Messrs. Browne and Horneman; and though they were disappointed with the extent of the ruins, they found, yet from the accounts in ancient authors, and more especially from recent discoveries made there by the agents of Mr. Bankes, there is little room to doubt that this was the site of the celebrated temple of Jupiter Ammon. The second, the Oasis Parva of

geographers had been variously laid down, but its locality appears to have been determined by Mr. Belzoni, though he visited it under the impression that here might have been the temple above mentioned. The third, the Oasis Magna, was well known to commence about the latitude of Thebes; and, as it is the first stage for caravans which travel between Egypt and the interior of Africa, a few Europeans had before passed through it, and among others, Browne in his journey to Dar Fûr. It is however remarkable, that neither he, nor any traveller who preceded him, knew of three very beautiful temples, and a singular necropolis or mummy town

which lie scarcely out of the route. These magnificent ruins we visited about eight months after M. Caillaud first found them out, and to the best of my belief, no account of them has yet been published*. It remained to us to discover a fourth Oasis lying to the westward of that last mentioned; the existence of which, if suspected, had never been previously ascertained.

The narrative contained in the following pages, comprises a journey of near six hundred miles, and is nearly a transcript of a diary kept in common

* The work of the French Institute, containing the Journals of Messrs. Cailliaud and Drovetti have been published since this was written. I have made some supplementary remarks upon their statements at the end of this book.

with my fellow-travellers. To one of them the Reverend Robert Master, I am indebted for some of the sketches which embellish this work, and I can most willingly vouch for their faithfulness and accuracy. The plans were drawn from measurements made by us with a graduated line: but as to the maps I can only answer for their giving a general idea of the country through which we passed. As we had not the means of taking observations, they are merely laid down from calculations derived from comparing the camel's march with the points of the compass, and by conferring our own remarks with information obtained from the natives.

In order effectually to prove our claim to the discovery of the farther Oasis, I have brought together all I have been able to find respecting these interesting spots; the accounts of ancient and Arabic authors, the reports of travellers, and the various systems of geographers who have treated upon them. I have but to add, that the minute detail I have entered into respecting the Bedouins, can only be justified by the curiosity generally excited by the manners and customs of the Nomade tribes; and if any other portion of this narrative appears brief and superficial, I must plead, as an excuse, that our notes were taken without the remotest view to publication. I sin-

cerely hope, however, that the little information I have had the means of communicating, may turn the attention of future travellers to objects of curiosity, which will well repay the little trouble they may encounter in their journey to them, and that we may hereafter receive the results of a fuller and more perfect investigation.

ERRATA.

Page 37, line 2 from the bottom of the page, *for* into Latin, *read* in Latin.

—— 37, line 11, *for* I have mentioned, *read* I have mentioned above.

ERRATUM.

Page 132.—Four lines from the bottom in the note, for Emperor *read* Emperors.

Preface, page xii. Note, three lines from the bottom, for "have been *read* "has been."

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JOURNEY,

&c. &c.

On the 14th of January 1819, I left Cairo, accompanied by my friends Messrs. Hoghton and Master, and having made an excursion to the pyramids, we joined our boat at Bedrieshiem near the ruins of Memphis, for the purpose of proceeding southwards.

Having unfortunately arrived in Egypt too late to avail ourselves of the north wind which generally prevails during the summer and autumnal months, our progress was so slow, that in three weeks we had not advanced above one third of the distance even to the lower cataracts at Assouan.

I had been strongly recommended to visit if possible the Oases in the desert of Upper Egypt, of which so little had hitherto been known, and Mr. Belzoni, whom we met on

the Nile, very much encouraged this undertaking. He informed us they were supposed to be two in number, and that M. Cailliaud had about eight months before reached one of them, in which he had discovered some very interesting remains of antiquity. The other he believed had never been investigated, but he understood that M. Drovetti had, or was about to make the attempt.

The tranquil state of the country and, above all, the prospect of exploring a district hitherto unknown, made us enter very warmly into the idea, and determined us to put our purpose into execution as soon as possible. Belzoni advised our commencing our journey from Esne, as the governor of that place would be very ready to afford us every assistance: but on our arrival at Siout on the 7th of February, being informed that M. Drovetti had set out for the Oases from hence three days before, we resolved to lose no time in following him.

Siout stands about a mile from the river on the left bank, and probably occupies the

site of the ancient Lycopolis. It makes a good appearance at a distance, and is better built than is usual in this country, though the houses are mostly, if not all, of mud. A tolerable palace has lately been erected here by Ibrahim Pasha, son to Mohammed Ali Pasha of Egypt, and a new mosque with its minaret is not inelegant. This town is considered as the capital of Upper Egypt, and though the exact period of its foundation cannot now be ascertained, it is clear that it has long been a place of eminence since Abd-Allatif, who made a census for the sultan Melek Alaschief Shuban, in the year of the Hegira 777. (A.D. 1376), among the provinces mentions that of Osyout.

The present governor, whose name has escaped my memory, is Deftar-dar Bey, or Minister of Finance, and has a very extended jurisdiction. He is a fine looking man of about forty, and is son-in-law to Mohammed Ali. The honour of this con-

nexion, however, brings with it some inconveniences, as he is in consequence not allowed to avail himself of the Mohammedan privilege of Polygamy*: neither is it consistent with etiquette that the Pasha's daughter should leave the capital, so that he pays her an annual visit at Cairo.

On presenting to him a letter we had brought from the Kaija Bey†, and informing him of our proposed expedition, he received us very civilly, declared himself willing to serve us, and giving us a letter to the shehk of the Bedouins, requested we would let him hear of our safe return.

We were detained the whole of the 8th

* The same custom is observed at Constantinople. Whenever one of the princesses is given by the sultan in marriage to a favourite grandee, she still retains all the attributes of royalty; exerting despotic authority over her husband, and never accompanying him when he leaves the capital. He likewise is prohibited marrying another wife as long as she lives.

† The Kaija Bey is the Pasha's Lieutenant, through whose hands almost all the details of government pass.

at Siout in making preparations for our journey, and in the evening witnessed a very interesting sight.

A boat arrived with hadgis or pilgrims from Mecca. Nothing could exceed the transport with which they were received. Crowds flocked down to the shore to welcome them home, and a multitude of women veiled stood above repeating, in a warbling manner, the syllable al, al, al, which is their cry of joy, ul, ul, ul, being that of mourning. They all pressed round each pilgrim as he landed; the men warmly embracing him, the women, unless nearly related, only kissing his garment. After a few minutes spent in congratulations, the pilgrims mounted asses which had been brought down for them to the shore, and proceeded to the town, accompanied by the whole assemblage, testifying their joy with the most lively acclamations. I have seldom been present at a more animated or agreeable scene.

The following morning we set out on our

journey; the baggage packed on three camels, and ourselves mounted on asses. These latter animals, though smaller even than those in England, and very slightly made, possess in this genial climate astonishing strength and vigour, and I have frequently rode one a whole day, my feet nearly if not quite touching the ground, without its showing the slightest appearance of fatigue.

Before our departure we put on the Mameluke dresses we had provided ourselves with at Cairo, but though this was strongly recommended to us, we found afterwards there was not the least occasion for so doing.

Our costume consisted of a cloth jacket reaching to the hips, the sleeves terminating just below the elbow; a coarse silk waistcoat with long open sleeves extending beyond the extremities of the fingers, and buttoning up close round the neck, leaving the throat bare; an immense pair of cloth trowsers, red slippers, and a turban of white muslin. A turkish sabre was slung across

our shoulder, and round the waist we wore a Mecca shawl resembling the Cashmere, but of a coarser quality, within which we carried a dagger. This, with the addition of a brace of pistols hanging under the left arm, completes the dress worn by the Mamelukes, and is also that of the Turkish cavalry.

After riding four or five hours in a north westerly direction, we reached Beniali about three o'clock, and proceeded to the house of the shehk* Daoud Waffee. We found him sitting within the porch of his house surrounded by a few of his people, and some pilgrims from Barbary. After the first salu-

* In Egypt every village, and among the Bedouins each tribe has its shehk or chief, who is vested with a considerable degree of authority. Saints or Santons are called likewise in Arabic shehks. There are many of these partially, if not entirely insane, who by exposing themselves in a state of nudity, gain a great character for sanctity, and are supposed to be especially protected by Heaven. They subsist upon charity, and at their death buildings like small mosques are erected over their tombs, and held in great veneration.

tations, coffee was brought round, which was followed by a repast of bread, honey, and sour cheese, placed on a small copper table, round which we sat on the ground. The shehk spoke much of the mutual friendship subsisting between the English and Bedouins, during our war in the country, and expressed his high respect for our nation. On reading the Deftar-dar Bey's letter, he promised to procure whatever would be requisite for our journey, but hinted the necessity of our riding camels, as he feared he should be unable to provide us with horses. We then presented him with a watch we had purchased at Siout, manufactured in England, but expressly for the Turkish market. With this he appeared highly delighted, and insisted on our sleeping in his house, an invitation we of course readily accepted.

Towards the evening we went to see the shehk's horses, which were tethered in a large open plain. None of them appeared fine, being of the Egyptian breed, which is heavy, and quite unlike the Arab. From

his nephew, who accompanied us, we learnt a little of our host's history.

Shehk Daoud Waffee, is acknowledged chief of that portion of the Ababdé tribe of Bedouins, which inhabits the African border of Egypt. His father, Abou Waffee, possessed a thousand black slaves, and, besides fourteen villages which actually depended upon him, several more were glad to purchase his protection, by a regular tribute. During the last war he took part with the Mamelukes and English, and had occasionally the means of affording us essential service, particularly at the blockade of Alexandria by the Turks in 1807, when his Arabs supplied our army with provisions. The war, together with the treachery of a black slave, to whom Abou had entrusted large sums, conspired to ruin him, and he left little except his rank to his son. Such, however, is the feodal attachment of the Bedouins to their shehks, that Daoud Waffee, though possessed of no real power, is still looked up to as their chief, and all nego-

tiations with the government are carried on through him.

On our return, we found that shehk Hamet who commanded a neighbouring camp, had arrived during our absence, and Daoud informing us that it was with him we were to make our final arrangements, we thought it advisable to conciliate his good-will by giving him also a watch.

Supper was shortly after introduced, which was laid out in the same manner as the preceding meal. It consisted of a large pillaf of rice dressed with oil, and mixed when eaten with honey; a joint of mutton; five or six more dishes of boiled and stewed meat; and a chicken in broth. Our host tore up the large pieces with his fingers, and distributed them round, giving us those he considered best. We sat down first with a few of the principal persons, and were replaced by the inferior and servants; when they were satisfied, whoever passed by, was called in till the whole was consumed. Both before and after supper, water for our hands

was brought round by a black slave, as all had eaten promiscuously with their fingers, though wooden spoons were used for the rice. When all the guests, except Hamet and ourselves, were gone, we were much amused with a hint Daoud gave us to produce some beverage more potent than water. As he could not with decency ask directly for it, he begged we would not scruple to drink any thing we might have with us. This at first we declined doing, out of respect to his religious prejudices, supposing he meant it only as a compliment; but, upon his pressing it, we brought out a bottle of brandy, which proved of great service to us, and had the happiest effect upon him possible. By the time he had drank five or six glasses, we were the dearest friends he had, and as he conceived riding camels would fatigue us, he promised us horses, notwithstanding he had before pronounced it impossible to procure them. When we retired for the night he came into our apartment, which, like the rest of the house,

was built of mud, to see that we wanted nothing, and sitting down for a few minutes appeared much pleased with our portable beds.

We met next morning at breakfast, which was composed of very good bread, pancakes, meat, omelette, and dates. Soon after we took leave of our hospitable friend. At parting, he expressed great regret at not being able himself to accompany us to the Oases, but requested us to write down our names, that in case of his visiting England, which he much wished to do, from the reception Mohammed Elfy Bey met with, about twenty years before, he might know to whom to apply: he likewise urged us to call on him on our return, and to recommend any of our countrymen who pased that way to do the same.

In about two hours, escorted by shehk Hamet, we reached the Bedouin camp, and pitched our tent close to his in the middle of a field of rich pasture. The remainder of the day was occupied in bargaining with

the Arabs; and, after much discussion, it was finally settled that we should have six men to attend us, each providing a horse at the rate of a hundred piastres*, and two camels at seventy a-piece. The horses were for our three selves, two servants, and interpreter; and though our baggage was by no means heavy, twelve camels were considered necessary in order to carry water sufficient for so many through the desert.

After sun-set Hamet invited us to sup with him, and in the evening entertained us with a concert. The musicians were three Dervishes, one of whom beat time on a tambourine with the fingers of one hand and the palm of the other, whilst they all

* The Pasha of Egypt is, I believe, the only one who enjoys the privilege of regulating his own currency. The gold he receives from Constantinople, but the silver he coins himself. His narrow policy has tempted him perpetually and arbitrarily to alter the standard, much to the inconvenience and detriment of commerce. At the time I am speaking of ten piastres were equivalent to a Spanish dollar, but their value is constantly fluctuating.

joined in singing, or rather howling a most discordant monotonous ditty.

Feb. 11th.—Our guides not being in readiness, we occupied this morning in wandering about the camp, and observing the peculiarities of the extraordinary people we were amongst. It was impossible not to be forcibly struck with the scene around us. The manners of the Bedouins of the nineteenth century differ but little from those of the immediate descendants of Ishmael, and we were now witnesses to the primitive simplicity of the patriarchal ages; which, through a period of near four thousand years, has, by means of this singular race, been handed down to us unimpaired.

The whole encampment consisted of four hundred families, and was dispersed about some rich meadows on the border of the desert. Three tents belonged to Hamet, in one of which were the women. Forty camels, three horses, with a considerable number of cows, sheep, and goats composed his stock, which were all, excepting

the camels, brought close round his dwelling at night. The Bedouins value most highly the female camels and mares. Five hundred piastres are frequently given for the former, and, as the Egyptian breed of horses is very heavy, and more strong than active, the genuine Arabian is considered invaluable. They are extremely rare, and when of pure extraction, are estimated as high as fifteen thousand piastres; a sum Bedouins are seldom likely to possess.

I was much surprised at their mode of treatment of a young camel. As soon as it was born they squeezed and struck its legs most unmercifully against the ground for some minutes. At first, I conceived this violence arose from disappointment at some defect or deformity, and that they would infallibly kill it; but it appeared they treated it thus roughly, merely for the purpose of rendering the joints supple; and in a very short time the animal was able to stand, and receive nutriment from the mother. When two or three months old the flesh is

said to be good, and the milk of the female is very nutritious and palatable.

' Lord Bacon has observed, " that he that travelleth into a country before he hath some entrance into the language, goeth to school, and not to travel." This ignorance is common to nearly every European who visits Egypt, or the Levant. The grammatical Arabic differs so materially from the colloquial, that even should they previously have studied it, few have either time or inclination to remain in these countries long enough to acquire a facility in conversing: an inconvenience which is most sensibly felt by all travellers, and sufficiently accounts for the mistakes frequently found in their journals. Nor does the assistance of an interpreter essentially obviate this difficulty. It is certainly true that good ones are to be found; but, for the most part, any native or resident who has acquired a smattering of French, or the lingua Franca, the Levantine Italian, considers himself perfectly qualified to undertake the important

and lucrative office of dragoman*. Ours at this period was a Cypriot by birth, of the name of Luigi Giorgi. He was conversant enough with the common dialect of Egypt, but was not a little puzzled with its occasional differences with that of the Bedouins; and, from the few words we had been able to pick up, we more than once detected him, either ignorantly or wilfully, giving a wrong interpretation. Added to this, he was so eminently deficient in French, the language in which he chose to make his communications to us, that we constantly experienced much difficulty in understanding him. The consequence is, I feel much diffidence in vouching for the correctness of information obtained through such a medium.

The rigorous power of the Pasha has reduced these wandering tribes to a state of dependance. By virtue of an agreement, they are retained in his service as irregular

* Dragomano is the Venetian corruption of the Turkish word Tergiman which signifies interpreter.

troops; and Shekh 'Hamet who commands 400 families, receives annually 35,000 piastres to distribute among them. The Bedouins, who inhabit villages, pay regular tribute, but those who have no fixed residence, and live in tents, remove from the desert when the inundation of the Nile subsides, to the borders of Egypt, where they rent certain portions of corn-land, at the rate, I was informed, of a tenth of the produce. From the extreme luxuriance of the soil, they are allowed the free use of pasturage.

The characteristic dress of the Bedouins is a Bernooz or white Barbary cloak, thrown across the shoulder, which, forming a sort of hood, is bound close to the head by a dark-coloured shawl. Under this they wear nothing but a shirt, fastened round the waist by a leathern belt, and their arms are a gun, or matchlock, and a brace of long pistols. Their domestic furniture is the simplest possible, allowing them to decamp at a few minutes' notice; and, when on a march,

they carry the women on camels, in a wooden machine resembling panniers.

We had frequent opportunities during our journey of seeing the Bedouin mode of attack, which our guides were in the habit of practising for exercise and amusement. It consists in riding at the enemy at full speed; firing their gun, or pistols; wheeling round; loading them again; and then returning to the charge. This is performed with wonderful agility, and the perfect command they have over their horses enables them to execute their manœuvres with the greatest nicety and precision. The curb they use is a ring of iron, attached to the bit, which is so severe, that the horses are easily checked or even stopped when at the utmost extent of their speed: and on the banks of the Jordan I saw an Arab drop the end of a long spear on the ground, and retaining hold of it in the middle with his right hand, wheel round it without ever slackening his pace.

Our preparations being completed, we set

out at five o'clock in the afternoon of the 11th. Shekh Hamet accompanied us as far as the confines of the desert, which we shortly reached, and then took his leave. As we gradually lost sight of the Nile, and its luxuriant banks, a new world seemed to open to our view. Nothing was to be seen but a vast immeasurable plain of sand, extending itself in all directions, over which the eye searched in vain an object to rest upon. The hardihood which Horace * ascribes to the earliest navigator, might with equal truth be applied to those who first ventured to explore these inhospitable tracts. Though we were following a regular line of communication, there was something awful, I might almost say, in the sensation, that we had now, as it were, passed the bounds Nature had marked to the habitable portion of the earth. Not a vestige

* Illi robur et æs triplex
Circa pectus erat, qui fragilem truci
Commisit pelago ratem
Primus.— Hor. lib. 1. Od. 3.

of cultivation, nor even a blade of grass, were to be seen, and, except the carcases of camels which lined our path at no great intervals for the whole extent of our course, there was nothing to remind us that this route was ever frequented. It was impossible, too, not to feel some degree of anxiety with respect to the result of our expedition. Our guides, though not numerous enough themselves to molest, might easily have betrayed or deserted us; and our distrust was the less unreasonable, from the experience of modern travellers having done much towards destroying the opinion of the incorruptible fidelity of the Arab tribes. Our suspicions, however, proved groundless. We found no cause to complain of our companions, except their pilfering a few small articles of no value; and in the inhabited spots we were received with a degree of hospitality rarely met with in more civilized parts of the world.

It is rather singular, that, until our arrival at the first Oasis, we could not discover

to which we were bound. Every account we obtained, both before we set out, and from our guides on the way, was so vague, that we could form no idea either of the distance or situation: and having no maps to direct us, we were kept in continual uncertainty.

At nine o'clock we pitched our tents for the night, and the baggage being collected close round us, our servants thought it expedient to watch: a precaution we found unnecessary, and ever afterwards discontinued.

The four following days we continued our journey uninterruptedly. As it was not advisable to leave the baggage at any distance, we were never able to exceed a foot-space, which added materially to the fatigue and ennui of a daily march of thirteen hours.

It has been asserted that the camel's pace never varies, but this is by no means the case. When fresh in the morning, or approaching a place where they expect to

find water, they quicken their steps considerably, and flag in proportion when wearied. To judge, from walking by their side, we calculated that three miles an hour in a short journey, and something less in a longer one, was a fair average, as our camels were but lightly laden. Nor is the common idea correct that they only roar when overladen: they do so whenever any burden is put upon them; but if they feel it too heavy, they will frequently not rise from their knees till part is removed. Though occasionally vicious, they are for the most part gentle and docile, except about the month of May, when they are very unmanageable. The power of enduring fatigue, with which this wonderful animal is endued, has not been overrated. Our Bedouins assured us that they not unusually travel with them, even when heaviest laden, eighteen hours out of the twenty-four, and that for several days together. Their faculty also of abstaining from drinking, much exceeds what I had imagined, for, on

this occasion, nearly seventy hours elapsed from the time they started to their arrival at the first well. In their food they are not much less abstemious; a small proportion of chopped straw, and beans, or sometimes barley, was all that was given to them daily.

The general appearance of the desert, when we first entered it, was, as I mentioned above, that of a vast and level plain; but as we proceeded we found greater variety of surface, and in some places hills even of considerable magnitude. The rock of which the desert is composed, for the most part is impregnated with iron, and, in many places, exhibits visible traces of the agency of fire. The sand is usually of a very fine substance, though sometimes assuming the consistency of gravel, and is rarely deep, except when drifted.

On the 15th, about noon, we passed for some distance among hillocks, resembling artificial heaps. They seem exactly to correspond with those Belzoni describes in his

journey to the more northern Oasis, and which, he imagines, are the tombs of Cambyses's army: but I have little doubt of their being natural, as they are found all over the desert.

We frequently saw coveys of partridges* as far even as seventy or eighty miles from water and cultivation. They are of a dingy sand colour, and, it is worthy of remark, that both here, and in the desert of Suez, several species of animals, reptiles, and insects, such as hares, lizards, ants, &c., have this peculiarity. The effect appears to be similar to that which has been observed in very northern regions, where animals and birds become, during the Winter months, white or gray.

The superstition of the Arabs has been

* Probably the Perdix Ægyptiaca, which the Jesuit Missionary calls Quatha; for, he says, the real partridge is only found near the monastery of St. Anthony, on the borders of the Red Sea.

Lettres Edifiantes, Vol. VI. p. 120.

often remarked, and we saw a curious specimen of it. Our attention was attracted by a large heap of cordage collected together; and, on enquiry, were informed that it covered a tomb which was considered sacred. A driver, formerly travelling this way during summer, with five camels, had the misfortune to see them all drop down dead, the last at this place. Upon that, he became a recluse, and, fixing his residence here, was provided by each caravan, as it passed, with dates, rice, and water, for his sustenance. After his death, being considered a saint, he was oddly enough accounted the preserver of camels. For some time the caravans continued their usual contributions; finding, however, at length, that this holy person's appetite had declined, they omitted doing so; but, whenever a camel dies, they make a point of offering him all its cordage and fodder, which on no account do they ever allow to be touched. There is, in consequence, a great accumu-

lation; for as unfortunately the saint's influence is not very powerful, numbers of them perish during the hot season.

We now began to experience serious inconvenience from the want of water. The perpetual shaking soon caused that we had brought with us to imbibe a rancid taste, from the goat-skins in which it was carried, but even this was nearly exhausted, and though we had more than once obtained a small supply from caravans we met, we had no longer any to give our horses, and scarce enough for ourselves. It was necessary on this account that we should make a forced march, in order that we might reach our first point of destination as soon as possible. After travelling, therefore, the whole day, we rested a few hours in our clothes, and at midnight again set out.

About two o'clock the following morning, Feb. 16th, we observed our guides lighting their matchlocks, and assuming an unusual degree of precaution. It appeared we were approaching a pass where a party of them

was last year attacked, and cut to pieces by some Mograbin Bedouins. This spot was a narrow dell, into which we descended by a path somewhat precipitous. Our Arabs took the lead, and we followed one by one. The broad lights and shades reflected by the moon on the broken surface of the rocks, added to the dead silence which prevailed as our caravan wound slowly down into the defile, rendered the scene striking and picturesque.

To our infinite joy towards eight o'clock we perceived in the distance some scattered palm trees; and, in the course of an hour, found ourselves at the first village in the farther Oasis, called Bellata. Here we pitched our tents, and were not sorry to enjoy some repose after our fatigue, having been on horseback twenty hours out of the last twenty-six. Our course, from the time we entered the desert, had been nearly due south-west, and as we had occupied sixty-four hours on our march from the Bedouin camp to this place, we calculated we had

travelled about a hundred and seventy-eight English miles.

The geography of these remote districts is not easy to be understood from the ambiguous usage of the Greek word Oasis, which is synonimous with the Arabic El Ouah, or El Wah, and is evidently derived from the same source. The original meaning is clearly defined, as implying a cultivated spot in a desert; but the difficulty turns upon Oasis being frequently used in the singular number, to signify indiscriminately either one, or a collection of these islands. The Oasis Magna and Parva, for instance, are both composed of a certain number of spots, yet many authors speak of them as if there were but one in each, and among others Ptolemy, when laying down their latitude. The Arabic geographers have given the name of El Wahat to that portion of the desert within which all the Wahs were supposed to lie; and Major Rennell, in his work on the Geography of Herodotus, computes it to extend 350 miles

from North to South, and 150 from East to West.

Strabo resembles the north of Africa to a leopard's skin, being covered with spots of cultivation, and Stephanus Byzantinus* applies the same term to one of the Oases taken in the collective sense. This comparison particularly agrees with the appearance of the country we had just arrived at, which is that of a plain, dotted about with a few insulated tracts of rich and wooded cultivation.

It is curious to observe the contradictory opinions of different authors respecting the general character of the Oases. Herodotus, in describing that which the army of Cambyses reached in their march against the Ammonians, says, that that region is called "Μακάρων νῆσοι" or Islands of the Blest; an expression which D'Anville prudently

* Stephanus Byzantinus was a learned Grammarian of the 5th century, who taught at Constantinople, and was author of a Geographical Dictionary, of which we have an abridgement, made by Hermolaus in the reign of Justinian.

considers, "un trait de l'imagination des Grecs." On the other hand, Saint Athanasius, speaking of them as places of banishment, complains of "the Arians having exceeded the Emperor's orders, in exiling old men and bishops to places unfrequented and inspiring horror; for some were sent from Libya to the Great Oasis, and others from the Thebaid to that of Jupiter Ammon." Zosimus* and Zonaras† mention their desolate state, and Abulfeda‡, though he al-

* Zosimus wrote six books of the History of the Emperors, in the reign of Theodosius the younger, about A. D. 410. The five first and part of the last are remaining.

† Zonaras has left Annals to the death of the Emperor Alexius Comnenus, A. D. 1118.

‡ Omadeddin Abulfeda Ismael Ben Nasser, was sultan of Hameh in Syria, and deposed anno Hegiræ 743. He is celebrated as the author of two works, one Geographical, and the other an Abridgement of Universal History. Herbelot Dictionnaire Orientale.—Art. Aboulfeda.

The celebrated professor Michaelis, published extracts of his Geography into Latin, with copious and learned annotations at Gottingen, 1771.

lows them to be luxuriant, says the inhabitants are wretched; whereas Edrissi * pronounces them, though formerly inhabited, as now possessing no population at all. Fenelon has adopted the idea of savage wildness, and accordingly gives full scope to his poetic imagination. His picture, though incorrect in every point, and probably not intended as a local description, is worth producing as

* Abou Abdallah Mohammed, is called also Al Scherif Al Edrissi, by the latter of which names he is generally known, from the family and royal dynasty of Edrissites, descendants of Ali, to which he belonged. After their expulsion by the Fatimites from the north of Africa, where they had reigned for more than a century, his race took refuge in Sicily. Edrissi composed a work on Geography to explain a globe weighing eight hundred marks of silver, which Roger King of Sicily and Calabria had constructed, an. 548. of the Hegira, A. D. 1153. The Maronites of Paris translated and abridged that part of his work which relates to Nubia, hence he is called the Nubian Geographer. Herbelot, Dict. Orient.—Art. Edrissi.

Professor Hartmann, published extracts from this work, translated into Latin at Gottingen, with valuable notes.

coming from so able a hand. Telemachus relates, " Cependant Métophis m'envoya vers les montagnes du désert d'Oasis avec ses esclaves, afin que je servisse avec eux a conduire ses grands troupeaux," and afterwards, " Pour moi, j'arrivai dans des déserts affreux: on y voit des sables brûlants au milieu des plaines, des neiges qui ne fondent jamais, et qui font un hiver perpétuel sur le sommet des montagnes; et l'on trouve seulement, pour nourir les troupeaux, des pâturages parmi les rochers, vers le milieu du penchant de ces montagnes escarpées. Les vallées y sont si profondes, qu'à peine le soleil y peut faire luire ses rayons.*"

The metaphorical expression of islands which has been made use of by so many writers from Herodotus and Strabo to the present time, has given rise to, or at least encouraged, the idea, that the Oases were actually islands at a time when the sea was supposed to have covered the interior of

* Telemâque, Liv. 2de, near the beginning.

Africa. Olympiodorus *, speaking of the Great Oasis says, "the oyster and other marine shells found adhering to the stones of the mountain which divides it from the Thebaid, are evidences of its having been an island; besides which there is always much sand lying, which fills the three Oases." As far, however, as met my own observation, I can by no means give into this opinion.

In the first place, the sand bears no resemblance to that of the sea, being evidently caused by the action of the wind upon the surface of the rock, which is barren for want of moisture. On the other hand, the Isthmus of Suez, which we afterwards crossed on our way to Palestine, and which has certainly been once under water, displays

* Olympiodorus apud Photii Biblioth. page 191. Olympiodorus, was a native of the Thebaid, and flourished in the reign of the 2d Theodosius. He wrote twenty-two books of Histories from the reign of Honorius to the beginning of that of Valentinian, son of Constantius. A portion of his works were preserved by Photius in his compilation called the Bibliotheca.

altogether a different appearance. The sand is deep, and in all respects like that of a beach; salt or brackish pools are constantly met with, and various shrubs abound; among others the Dwarf Tamarisk *, which is for the most part found only near water. But the circumstance of marine deposits existing on the mountains as well as in the plains, I certainly think can be referred to no later period, but are either primeval or must add to the many testimonies the face of the earth exhibits of an universal deluge. The situation too of these insulated spots renders it scarcely possible that they could ever have been exempt from a general inundation; for they are invariably situated in a plain, bounded, though sometimes at a distance, by mountains, and little, if at all, elevated above the level. In short, the opinion of Major Rennell, though given with some degree of deference, appears to me conclusive as to the formation of the

* The Tamarix Gallica Orientalis of Forskal, Flora Egypt. Arab.

Oases: "Is it too much to suppose that the foundations of these islands were first laid by vegetation occasioned by springs, the decay of which vegetation produced soil until it increased to the state in which we behold them? They appear universally surrounded by high lands which will account for these springs."

The fertility of the Oases has been deservedly celebrated. Strabo asserts the superiority of the wine; Abulfeda and Edrissi mention the luxuriance of the palm trees; and Vansleb * says, "The best dried dates are brought from El Wah, which region lies three days' journey inland above Siout. These dates are so fleshy and sweet that others would be considered sour or bitter after them." In another place, he asserts, "that from Wah come raisins and good dates, common wine, dried cherries, and

* Vansleb was a Dominican who travelled in Egypt and Nubia in the years 1672-3. He published his Tour, and also l'Histoire de l'Eglise d'Alexandrie, at Paris, a few years after in 12mo.

such like." The common wine, I suspect, is the date brandy called Rakie, which is much used; for all the population of the Oases being Mohammedan no grape wine would be made, though their scruples do not extend to the more potent liquor.

The excellence of the dates of the Less Oasis, and the care of the Arabs in watching the trees, is noticed by Paul Lucas *, but the most circumstantial account is that of Olympiodorus, whom I have mentioned. Photius †, in quoting from his work, says, "this author asserts many incredible things respecting the Oases. That its temperature is such, that not only none have the sacred

* Paul Lucas was antiquary to Louis XIV. and travelled about a century back.

† Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople, is celebrated for his genius, and for his struggles for the Patriarchate with St. Ignatius, which lasted nearly all his life. He died in the reign of the Emperor Leo, about A. D. 887. Among other works his Bibliotheca is particularly esteemed, in which he cites fragments, and gives his opinion of two hundred and eighty books.

disorder* but that even those who bring it with them, are soon delivered from it by the salubrity of the climate. He observes, likewise, the great quantity of sand; and the wells, which are sunk 300 or even 500 feet from which the labourers who work in common draw up water by turns and irrigate their fields: also the extraordinary fruitfulness of the trees, and the superior quality of the corn, which is better than any where else, and whiter than snow. He adds, that barley is sometimes grown twice a-year, but millet always three times: that their enclosures, which are small, they water every third day in summer, but every sixth in winter, by which means a plentiful harvest is produced; that the sky is always cloudless; and that dials are fabricated there." This account, though much exaggerated, is curious as coming from a native of the neighbouring district of the Thebaid.

There is no point on which authors are

* The ἱερὰ νόσος is generally supposed to be the Epilepsy.

in general more agreed, than that these districts are watered by indigenous springs. The following account, however, of M. Maillet, the French consul at Cairo, towards the end of the 17th century, is so circumstantial, that I am tempted to give it at full length. "C'est* aux environs de cette derniere Ville (Manfalout) et à la gauche du Nil, qui se trouve la vallée des El Ouahs. Ce petit canton situé au milieu d'une vaste campagne de sables arides est fertilisé par les eaux de ce fleuve, qui y sont portées par un canal, dont l'ouverture est à trois journées de là. C'est par cette vallée des Elouahs, que les caravanes de Nubie abordent en Egypte après treize journées de marche, comme je le dirai dans la suite. Elle est surtout fertile en palmiers, dont le fruit fait la principale récolte, et toute la richesse des habitans de cette petite contrée. Cette province et celle du Fioum

* Description de l'Egypte composée sur les Memoires de M. Maillet, par l'Abbé le Mascrier; Paris, 1735, 4to. p. 303.

sont les seules, qui ayent conservé leur fertilité de toutes celles dans lesquelles les anciens Rois d'Egypte avoient fait passer les eaux du Nil au travers des collines, qui de ce côté-là separent l'Egypte de la Libye, parce-que dans celles-ci elles étoient conduites par des canaux qui se sont mieux conservés que les Aqueducs que ces Princes avoient fait construire, pour porter la fécondité dans les autres. J'ai déja parlé des ces fameux ouvrages, qui seront à jamais pour la postérité des monumens éternels de la puissance de ces anciens souverains, et de leur attention a procurer par toutes sortes de moyens le bonheur de leurs sujets. J' ajouterai seulement qu'on ne doit pas s'imaginer, que ces masses énormes, que soutenoient les eaux du Nil, s'etendissent jusqu'au de là des montagnes qu'on trouve entre l'Egypte et les déserts sablonneux de la Libye. Lorsque ces Aquéducs avoient joint ces montagnes, soit par leur sommet, soit par quelques unes de ces vallées, qui les séparent les unes des autres, on leur

avoient pratiqué un lit, tantôt entre ces collines mêmes, quelquefois en perçant une montagne, et on leur avoit ainsi creusé une route aisée et plate, par ou les eaux étoient portées jusques dans ces plaines quelles rendoient fécondes. C'est dans quelques uns des ces anciens canaux pratiqués dans les montagnes de la Libye, que quelques Religieux de la Propagande ont encore trouvé de l'eau, qui s'y etoit conservée jusqu'à nos jours."

We should have been much indebted to this author for the minute detail into which he has entered, if there had fortunately been any truth in his story. In fact though he mentions again, "Au tems des anciens Rois d'Egypte, on avoit trouvé le secret de conduire les eaux du Nil jusque dans ces solitudes brûlantes;" he afterwards contradicts himself. "A son départ de Gary, la caravane quittant les bords du Nil (on its return to Egypt from Nubia) et s'enfonçant dans les deserts de la Libye, qu'elle traverse, arrive en treize journées de marche

à une vallée d'environ trente lieües d'étendüe. Cette vallée, qui va presque du Nord au Sud, est couverte de palmiers, et très bien cultivée, parcequ'on y trouve de bonne eau, en creusant seulement un pied dans la terre. C'est une espéce de prodige que de rencontrer cette langue de terrain fertile au milieu des sables, et des deserts arides, qui l'envirronent*." From the description he goes on giving of its situation, it turns out to be the identical valley of the El Ouahs he mentioned before; and though he says there it is watered from the Nile, he here declares that springs are every where to be found a foot beneath the ground. The truth is M. Maillet, who really is an author of credit, having heard that an artificial cut was formerly made in the low ridge of mountains which divides Egypt from the Faioum in order to admit the Nile into that district, confounded it with the El Ouah, and then trusted to his imagination to supply aqueducts and canals for carrying so great a

* Descript. de l'Egypte, p. 216, 2nde Partie.

work into execution. It must be allowed, indeed, that he does not profess to have been eye-witness of what he narrates; but Major Rennell, notwithstanding, considers his information respecting the Oases superior to any other.

We soon discovered that among Bedouins, the English was a much better travelling character than the Turkish, and as Yusuf, Ibrahim, and Halil, the names we had assumed, were equally used by Christians and Mohammedans, we always took care to disclose our nation.

The friendly disposition of the natives manifested itself from the first, and we had scarcely arrived before the shehk came to our tent with a large supply of bread, omelette, and cheese, which was followed by some rice and a sheep. We returned his courtesy by calling upon him in the course of the day, and, after the usual ceremony of drinking coffee, presented him with some money and an Indian handkerchief, with which he seemed pleased.

Although it was only the 16th of February, the thermometer in our tent was 75 at two o'clock, and 77 at four.

Having explained to the inhabitants that our object was "Old Buildings," they informed us there were some in the neighbourhood. Accordingly in the evening we rode to see them, and in our way passed through a beautiful wood of acacias*, the foliage of which at a little distance recalled English scenery to our recollection. The trees far exceeded in size any I had ever seen of the kind, and, upon measuring the trunk of one, it proved to be 17 feet 3 inches in circumference.

In about an hour we reached our point. There were evident traces of former habitations to a great extent, and one mud building still existed; but we could gain no clue to guide us to its age. On our return we saw a procession of women making their "ululation" over some one who had died

* The Acacia or Mimosa Vera.

a few days before. In early times the office of mourner seems to have been chiefly performed by women who were hired for the purpose. Frequent allusions to this custom are to be met with in scripture, and St. Jerome says that it was continued in Judea to his days. Shaw and other travellers inform us that the same practice still prevails in Barbary and in most of the provinces of the Levant.

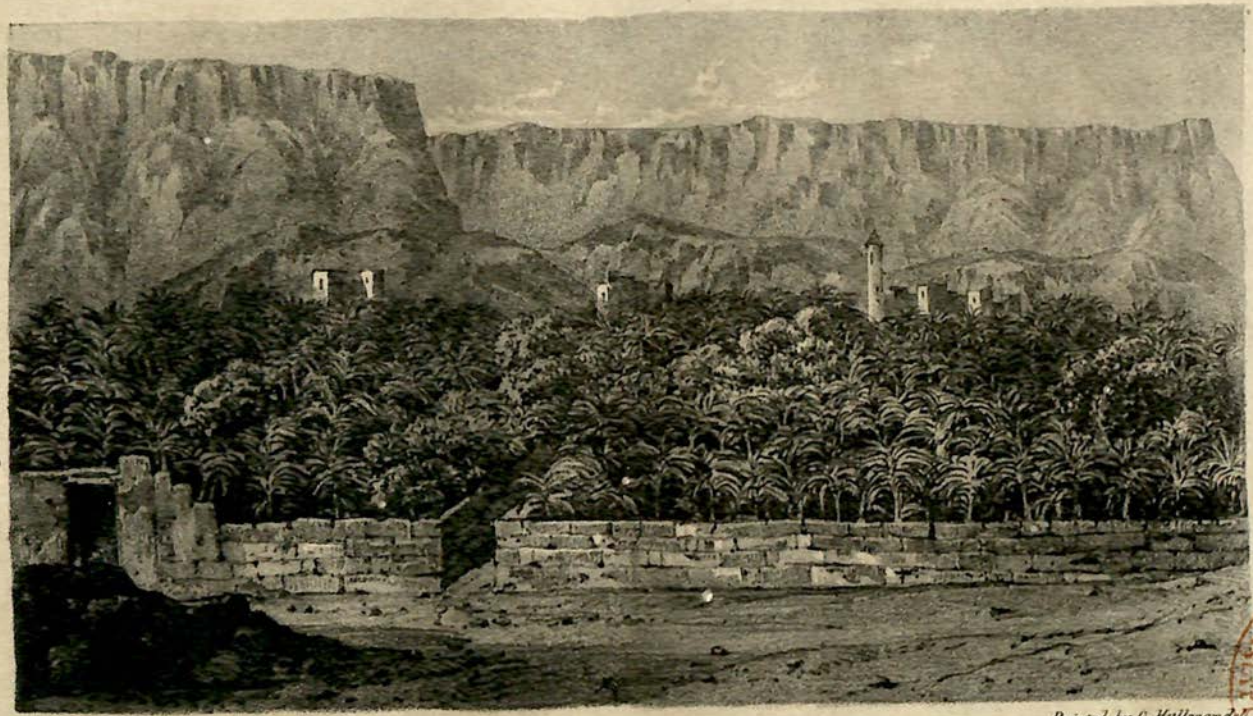
As it was our intention to make a complete survey of this Oasis, we left Bellatta the next morning at seven o'clock. Soon quitting cultivation, we directed our course nearly due west, over a wide and barren tract bounded by a high and precipitous ridge of rock to the north and east. We fancied we could also trace another in the horizon to the south.

Towards mid-day we saw the village of Hismint on our left; and three hours after, passed by another in the same direction, called Endough, surrounded by a considerable grove of palm trees: we then crossed a low chain of hills, and at sun-set reached

Aboudaklough, near to which we pitched our tents, and took up our quarters for the night. Just as we arrived, our dragoman caught a gazelle, which we should have wished to preserve alive, had we not found that it would be quite impossible to convey it about with us. This animal, which is a species of antelope, is remarkable for the beauty of its eye and elegance of its shape, but being a native of the desert, the flesh is dry and unpalatable.

The next day the shehk called upon us early, and having offered himself as a guide, mounted one of our horses and accompanied us to El Cazar, four miles and a half to the north. The situation of this place is perfectly lovely; it is seated on an eminence at the foot of the line of rock which rises abruptly behind it, and is encircled by extensive gardens filled with palm, acacia, citron, and various other kinds of trees, some of which I had rarely seen before in these regions.

On this, as on several occasions, I had reason to lament my ignorance of botany, as



Drawn on Stone by J. D. Harding from a Sketch by R. M.

VIEW OF EL CAZAR.

Pub. by J. Murray Albemarle Street.

Printed by C. Hullmandel

ROYAL
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any one skilled in that science might have found ample means of indulging his taste, and of making many valuable additions to his collection.

The only thing worthy of observation in the town is a strong sulphuric and chalybeate spring, which the people consider extremely sanative, and drink when left to settle for 24 hours in an earthen jar. After paying our visit to the shehk, we left the village, and, proceeding westward, shortly reached an insulated rock perforated with caverns, which had served as catacombs to human mummies, the fragments of which lie scattered about*. The inhabitants of the adjacent hamlet had stripped them in hopes of finding something valuable; and

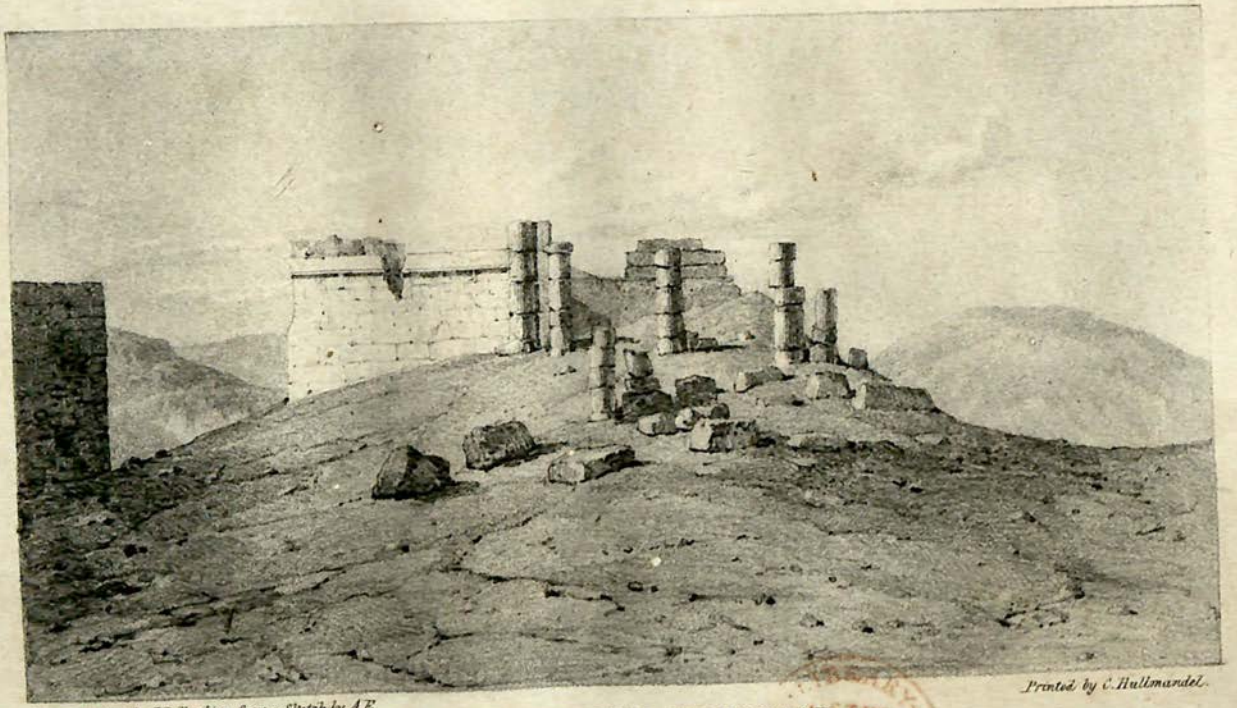
* On our way down the Nile, I purchased a mummy at Gournou, a part of Thebes, on the left bank of the river. On its arrival in England in June last, I gave it to Dr. Granville, who opened it in my presence. It has since been dissected, and considered a great curiosity, from its extraordinary degree of preservation. Dr. Granville is preparing a memoir of it to present to the Royal Society.

the jackalls, which abound here, had completed the work of devastation. Our Arabs, however, looked upon them with a degree of religious horror: for upon our pretending that we would carry one away with us, they unanimously declared they would desert us if we did.

From this elevation we descried some ruins to the westward; but as the day was advancing, and there appeared no particular object to attract our attention, we turned aside to some others which we perceived three miles distant to the south.

Here, to our great satisfaction, our antiquarian researches were repaid by the discovery of a temple in tolerable preservation, though half filled with sand, which our guide told us was called Daer El Hadjar *. The wind, however, blew the sand so disagreeably in our faces, that we resolved to defer our examination of it to the following day, and return to Aboudaklough, which was five or six miles to the south-east.

* In Arabic "The stony Convent."



Drawn on Stone by J.D. Harding from a Sketch by A.E.

Printed by C. Hullmandel.

TEMPLE OF DAER EL HADJAR.

Pub.d by J. Murray Albemarle St.t

February 19th.—In our way to Daer El Hadjar we diverged a little to the right, where we found vestiges of a town of greater extent than any we had seen before in this district. It was now a complete mass of ruins, and we could distinguish nothing but a small remnant of a temple, and the fragment of a white marble statue. This last was apparently of Greek workmanship, and not without elegance, although so imperfect.

There being nothing to detain us here, we hastened on to Daer El Hadjar. As the door-way was choked up by the sand, we scaled the wall without difficulty, and immediately set about clearing the interior of the temple; but after three or four hours, finding that our labours would be fruitless, we desisted, and proceeded to measure every part with a graduated line.

The edifice on the outside is 51 feet 4 inches long, by 24 feet 8 inches wide. In front is a portico of eight columns; three only are standing, and they in a muti-

lated state: their circumference is 9 feet 6 inches, and the space between 7 feet 7 inches: the two centre have portals reaching half way up, not connected by a lintel. The first chamber is 23 feet 9 inches, by 20 feet 3 inches, supported by four pillars, 5 feet in diameter at the shaft. As much as is visible of the walls is traced with figures and hieroglyphics. This apartment opens into another of the same width, but only 10 feet 4 inches long, perfectly plain and unornamented, excepting by the winged globe encompassed by the serpent, the emblem of eternity, which is carved over the door. Beyond this chamber, and communicating with it, are three smaller parallel to each other, of which the middle one was the Adytum. Here the walls are covered with figures and hieroglyphics, and much blackened by the lamps used in the service of the temple. The other two compartments are of the same length as the centre, and 5 feet wide. The roof still con-

PLAN OF THE TEMPLE IDAER EL HADJER.

A.F. del et lith.

Printed by C. Hullmandel.

tinues entire over these three chambers, which are lower than the rest of the building.

The temple stands due east and west. Round it, at the interval of twenty yards, are the remains of a thick wall of unburnt brick, and a gateway of stone facing the entrance. Besides the natural injury this structure has sustained from time and violent winds, its ruin has been greatly accelerated by the Arabs in the forcible entries they have made in search of treasure.

We finished our observations, and got back to Aboudaklough before dark. Shehk Ismael, who was very friendly and communicative, passed the evening with us, and readily answered all our questions relative to the country.

From him we learnt that this El Ouah is composed of twelve villages, of which ten are within five or six miles of each other; the remaining two much further off at the entrance of the plain, so that they are in fact scarcely looked upon as belonging to

this division. Bellata, where we had made our first halt, is one of these last mentioned: the other, named Tenida, is uninhabited, and to the south of Bellata.

In the part we now were, are Aboudaklough; El Cazar which we had visited; Moushie, to the west; Gedidi, to the south-west; and Gelamoon, in the same direction, but more distant. This latter place, together with El Cazar, are considered the two of most consequence in the district. To the south is first Rashdie, and beyond it Moot; to the south-east are Endough and El Masara; and still more to the eastward, Hisment; besides these there are several enclosures, well wooded with palm-trees, containing springs, but the cultivators and proprietors reside in the neighbouring villages.

The climate is extremely variable in winter. Sometimes the rains are very abundant, and fall in torrents, as appears from the furrows in the rocks; but this season there had been none at all, and the total want of dew at this period sufficiently proves the excessive

dryness of the atmosphere. Violent winds are very prevalent, and the kamsin, (S. W.) which is with justice called the scourge of the desert, frequently blows in the months of May and June. The plague is quite unknown, but, during the summer when the heat is intense, fevers and agues are very general, which the shehk attributed to the immoderate use of dates. This may be one of the causes, but what I should imagine conduces also to the insalubrity of that season is, that the springs are all strongly impregnated with iron and sulphur, and hot at their sources; nor indeed can the water be used until it has been left to cool in an earthen jar, when it becomes more palatable. These springs never fail or vary at any season of the year, which is most fortunate for the natives, as their very existence depends upon them, there being no wells that I could observe.

The soil is a very light red earth, fertilized entirely by irrigation, the water being conducted in small channels through the arable land. The principal produce is

corn, chiefly barley and rice. The former is sown in October and November, and reaped in March or April. The crop of rice succeeds, but not on the same ground, and requires constant moisture. Dates are an article of commerce with Egypt, and we often met caravans conveying them; lemons and citrons are also very plentiful in the gardens.

The inhabitants are Bedouins, I believe of the same horde as our guides; like them, they acknowledge the sovereignty of the Pasha, who has succeeded in reducing them to a state of complete subordination. As a proof of this, their tribute, which is paid in kind, not only varies every year, according to his caprice, as they affirm, but four or five soldiers are now sufficient for levying it, whereas four hundred were necessary for that purpose when they first came under his dominion.

Ismael informed us, that there was no thoroughfare through this Oasis, and that he was not aware of the existence of any

other inhabited tract beyond to the westward. Some Arabs had lately endeavoured to explore in that direction, but at the end of three days had met with so terrible a whirlwind, as to prevent their proceeding. He understood, however, that there was one towards the north, and that some years before a man, having lost his way in the desert, by chance found himself there, from whence he was ten days returning; but that the route never having been since followed, continued unknown.

The people here are much exposed to the incursions of the Mograbin or Barbary Arabs, and occasionally suffer much from their depredations. Three years ago, a band of four hundred made an irruption, and after a severe contest, in which many lives were lost, retired, carrying off much booty. It is thirty days' march to Tripoli reckoning ten hours to each.

Lions and tigers (hyænas?) are not uncommon in this district, but there are no ostriches; neither could we gain any informa-

tion respecting the serpent of incredible magnitude, called Toghan, which Edrissi affirms is only found in the El Ouahat.

The shehk assured us there was no record of any Frank ever having visited this Oasis before, but that he knew the English perfectly by reputation, and esteemed them highly. From his declaration, added to the negative testimony of there being neither written or traditional information respecting this region, we had the great satisfaction of being fully convinced that we were the first Europeans who had reached it in modern times.

Feb. 20th.—We finally left Aboudaklough at 9 o'clock in the morning, and returned to Bellata, taking a nearer way by the foot of the mountains. From the summit of a low ridge which commands the whole of this side of the country, we were enabled, with the assistance of the compass, to lay down the situation of all the villages in a map; but it must be acknowledged that their apparent distance does not correspond

with the shehk's account, and we preferred judging by the eye to trusting to his authority. In this, however, we might be mistaken, as he seemed to speak confidently, and could have no motive for misleading us. As we were now to commence another journey through the desert, it was necessary to procure a fresh supply of provisions, and, while our servants and Arabs were thus employed next morning, we went to see a manufacture of Indigo,* which was carried on in the open air, just without the town.

The method of extracting the colour appeared very simple. The plant, when dried, is put into an earthen jar with hot water, and worked up and down by a palm branch, resembling the handle of a churn, until the colour is pressed out. The liquid is then strained through the bark of a tree into another jar, where it is left for eight or nine days, during which time part of the water

* The Indigo of Egypt is produced from the Indigo fera glauca of Lamarck. See Bruguiere and Olivier on Egypt.

escapes by trickling through a small aperture half way down the side of it, leaving the sediment at bottom. It is afterwards poured into a broad, but very shallow hole formed in the sand, which absorbs the remaining liquid, and leaves the Indigo in solid cakes on the surface. This commodity is the property of the richer inhabitants of the village, and is one of the very few articles of trade or manufacture, which the Pasha has not monopolized, probably from ignorance of its existence here.

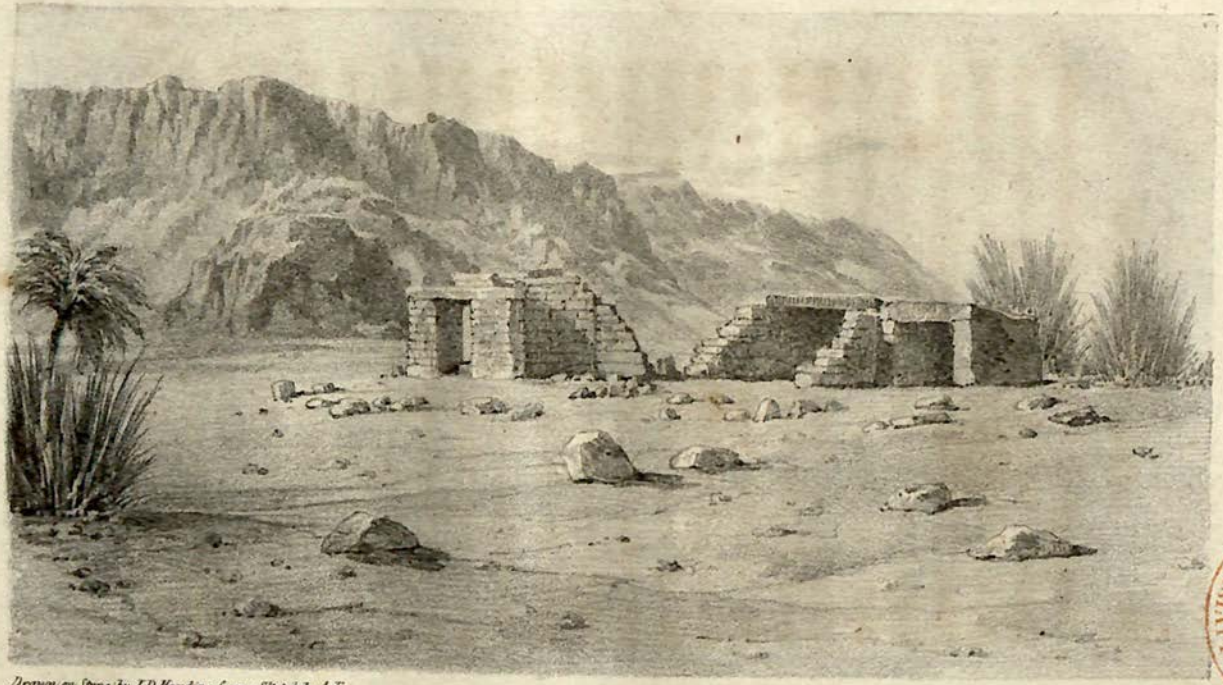
Every thing being ready for our departure by nine o'clock we finally quitted Bellata. Our course now lay about south-south-east, a line of mountain bounding the horizon to the eastward, which we appeared to be gradually approaching. In three hours we reached the village of Tenida the last in this Oasis, now quite deserted, owing to its distance from any other, and the consequent exposure to the incursions of the hostile tribes. After stopping half an hour at the last spring to fill the skins with water, we

turned nearly due east and re-entered the desert through a broad defile in the mountains.

Not far from here we met M. Drovetti, who having visited the nearer Oasis was now on the way to the farther which we were leaving. His intention was to penetrate if possible from that, into the more northern, the Oasis Parva, but I have not heard whether he succeeded in his undertaking.* At half past six we began to ascend a mountainous ridge, and after crossing the dry bed of a torrent, the path became extremely rugged. To add to our discomfort, in an hour's time it being quite dark, we lost the track; fortunately however we found one part of the pass rather wider than the rest: throwing therefore our tent over a rock which overhung it, and letting one end reach the ground, we made a tolerable resting-place for the night.

* By this traveller's journal it appears, he found it impracticable and returned to Egypt by the route we had taken in leaving it.

We resumed our march at seven in the morning, and in about ten minutes regained the path we had missed the preceding night. We were now on a sort of platform which composes the summit of the low chain of mountains dividing the two Oases. The prospect was dreary and monotonous, and the difference of temperature so great, that we were glad to wrap ourselves up in our cloaks, whereas hitherto we had been suffering inconvenience from heat. About six in the evening we began to descend by a rocky and precipitous pass, and came down upon the ruins of a temple, close to a spring of water shaded by palm-trees. Two small recesses, one of which had formed the adytum served as our lodging for the night. This temple to which our guides gave the name of Enamour is in a very dilapidated state, and apparently of great antiquity. Not much of the side walls remains, but the small chambers in which we slept, and the principal door-way at the opposite end are tolerably perfect. The building is low



Drawn on Stone by J.D.Harding from a Sketch by A.E.

TEMPLE OF EL AMOUR IN THE DESERT.

Printed by C.Hullmandel.

Pub.d by J. Murray, Albemarle Street.

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

in proportion to its length which is fifty-three feet ten inches, by twenty-five and fronts north-south. There are a few figures and hieroglyphics roughly executed on the outside, and some slight traces of painting over the entrance. A wall of unburnt brick had surrounded it at some distance, a considerable portion of which is still standing, and likewise a stone gateway immediately facing that of the temple, but we could trace no vestiges of former habitations near. Its situation is picturesque, being in a small plain confined on three sides by mountains which form a sort of semicircle open to the east.

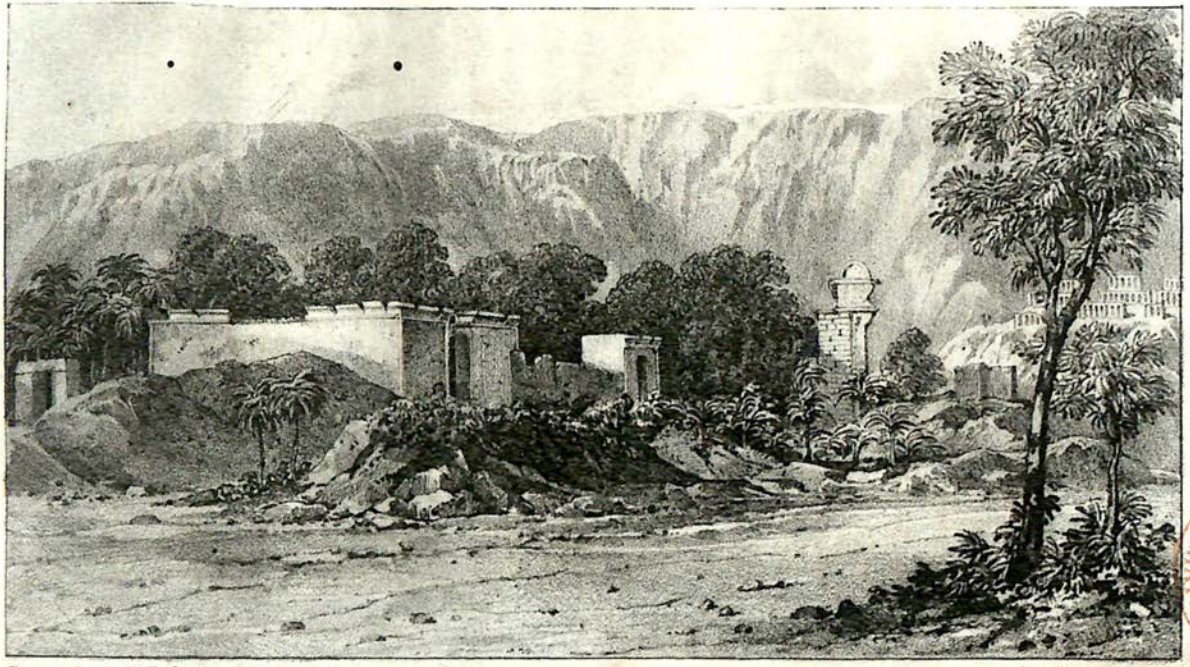
After examining these ruins, which had occupied us from sunrise till half past eight of the 22d, we again set out, and skirting round the base of the mountain on the right which shortly after ended abruptly, we entered into a vast irregular plain and continued advancing rather to the southward of the east.

Towards evening, finding ourselves again

bewildered among low hills of loose sand, we thought it advisable to halt for the night.

A march of four hours on the following day brought us to El Cargé, the principal town of the nearer or great Oasis, and the residence of the Turkish Katchief or governor of these two districts. From Bellata to this place we had employed thirty-five hours, which at our average rate three miles to the hour would make one hundred and five. On the whole of this route, we passed at stated intervals heaps of broken pots and tiles, which I imagine mark the spots formerly occupied by the Roman stations.

After pitching our tents as usual outside the town, and receiving the visit of ceremony from the shehk; we took a guide, and went to see some antiquities in the neighbourhood. At about a mile and a half to the north we perceived a building on an eminence, which proved to be a small quadrangular temple called El Nadera, thirty-one feet long, by twenty feet eight inches wide, of which three sides remain, but the



Drawn on Stone by J.D.Hardaing, from a Sketch by R.M.

Printed by C.Hullmandel.

TEMPLE OF EL CARGE.

Pub:by J.Murray, Albemarle Street.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

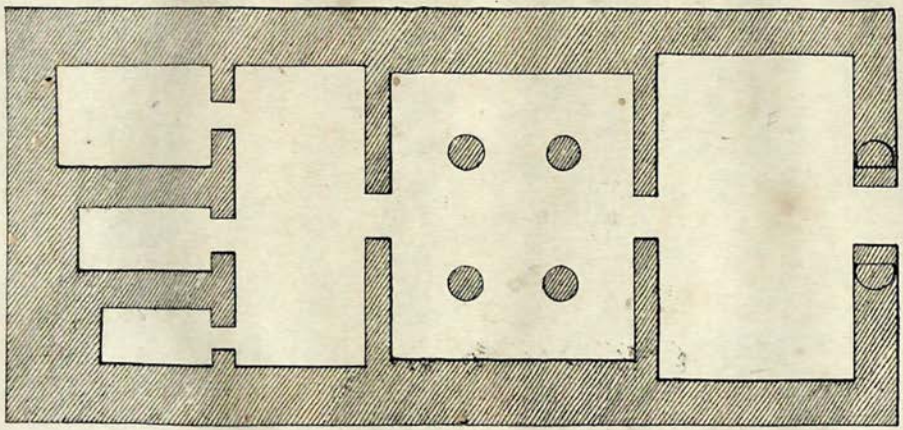
fourth is quite destroyed. The walls on the inside are covered with figures and hieroglyphics, greatly defaced, but of unusual elegance, particularly two in basso relievo over the door, much mutilated, and without heads, but possessing something of the roundness and character of Grecian sculpture. There was the usual inclosure of unburnt brick, a defence necessary in a country so much exposed to hostile incursions as this has always been. From this summit we discovered with infinite satisfaction, a large temple at a short distance towards the north-west; and, on a high ground still farther to the northward, several buildings like the ruins of an Arab town.

On approaching the temple, we were struck with the beauty of the situation in the midst of a rich wood consisting of palm, particularly that species called the Dhôm*

The Dhôm is the Hyphœne Cucifera of Gœrtner, de Fructibus: the Cucifera Thebaica of Delile, Flore d'Egypte.

Acacia and other trees, with a stream of water in front. In point of magnitude, it far exceeded any we had hitherto seen, but, as the evening was closing in, we thought it better to leave the examination of it to another time. Wishing, however, to satisfy our curiosity with respect to what we supposed to be, the Arab town, we rode up to it, and to our astonishment, found not what we had expected, but a regular Necropolis or cemetery, consisting of a great variety of buildings, each the receptacle of mummies: we could take, however, but a hasty view of it, as it was quite dark before we could return to our tent.

Finding we were so well pleased with what they had shewn us, our guides told us of two other ancient buildings, which, as well as that of El Cargé, Mr. Drovetti had been to a few days before. We accordingly mounted our horses early the next morning, and proceeding rather in a south-westerly direction, in three hours reached a height surrounded by a wall. On enter-



PLAN OF THE TEMPLE CAZAR EL GOETTA.

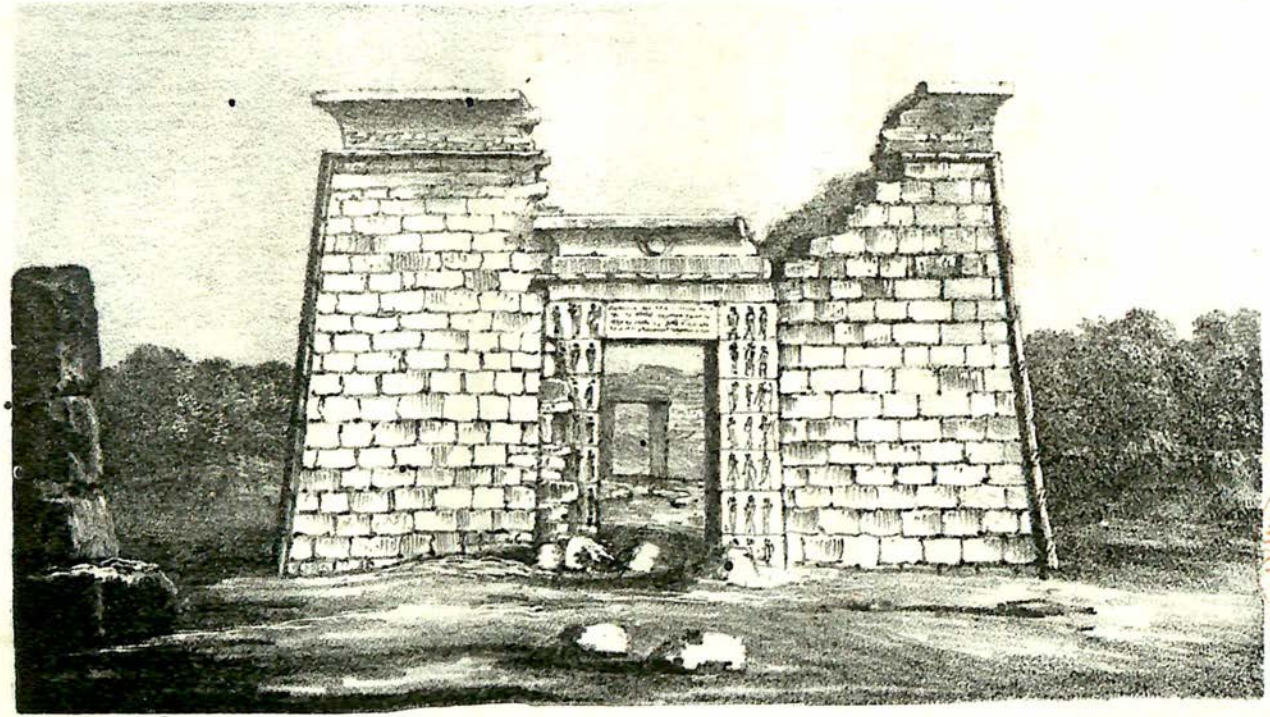
A.E. Secit.

Printed by C. Hullmandel.

ing this, we found a ruined Arab village, built within the enclosure of a large Temple called by our guide, Cazar el Goetta. The exterior is so choked up with these hovels, that we were unable to measure or to take any sketch of it, but the interior is divided into four parts, of which the dimensions are given in the annexed plan. In the middle of the second and principal chamber, are, or more properly have been, for one is no longer standing, four columns, the circumference of which, at the shaft immediately under the capital, is only eight feet. The capitals are all different; and remains of paint are very visible upon them. The fourth compartment is subdivided into three small chambers lower than the rest of the building, of which the centre was the Adytum. Hieroglyphics and figures are carved only in this, and the principal apartment. In front of the Temple which faces the east, there is an area, extending considerably beyond it, having traces barely visible, of two rows of pillars four deep. This co-

lonnade communicates with the outer wall, and leads to a stone gate-way exactly opposite to its principal entrance.

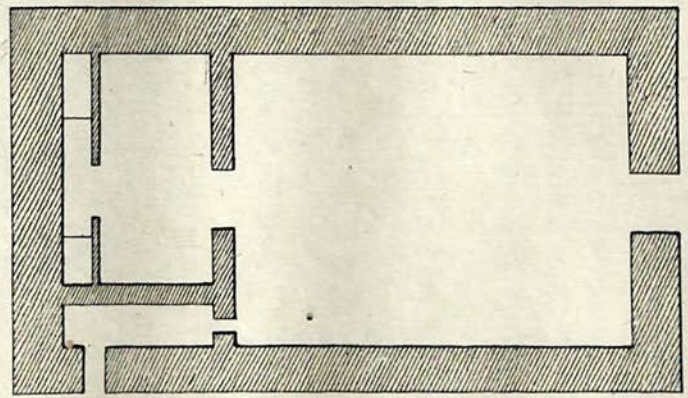
On leaving this, we bent our course towards the south-east, and in forty minutes reached our other point. It is an enclosed eminence like the last, with a few palms scattered about. Within are the ruins of several buildings of unburnt brick, apparently ancient; but the principal object is a small Temple of remarkably elegant proportions, and excellent masonry, known by the name of Cazar El Zian, forty-five feet long, and twenty-five feet one inch broad. The first chamber is perfectly plain, and measures twenty-six feet ten inches, by seventeen feet eight. Beyond are two more opening from it: that on the right hand is extremely narrow, being only two feet seven inches wide, by ten feet four long, having another access through the main wall; the other is fifteen feet four, by seven feet nine inches wide; and in the end of it, opposite to the entrance of the Temple, is a large



A.E. f. and on Stone by A. Aglio.

Printed by N. Chater

TEMPLE OF CAZAR EL ZIAN.



PLAN OF THE TEMPLE CAZAR EL ZIAN.

W. E. Secit.

Printed by C. Millmandel.

niche, which had formerly contained a statue, with a winged globe, and other emblems carved round it. The door-way, on the outside, is richly ornamented with figures, and over it is the following Greek inscription, which I copied.

Αμενηβι θεῳ μεγιστῳ τχονεμυρεως, και τοις συνναοις θεοις · ὑπερ της εις αιωνα διαμονης Αντωνειvου καισαρος του κυριου, και του συμπαντος αυτου οικου · ὁ σηκος του ἱερου και το προναον εκ καινης κατεσκευασθη, επι Ασυιδιου Ἡλιοδωρου επαρχου Αιγυπτου, Σεπτιμιου Μακρωνος επιστρατηγου, στρατηγουντος Πλινιου Καπιτωνος, ετους τριτου αυτοκρατορος καισαρος Τιτου Αιλιου Αδριανου Αντωνειvου σεβαστου ευσεβους. Μεσορη οκτω και δεκατη.

TRANSLATION.

To Amenebis the Great God of Tchonemyris, and the other Gods of the Temple, for the perpetual preservation of Antoninus Cæsar our Lord and his whole house: the

cell of the temple and the vestibule were repaired and renewed, under Avidius Heliodorus, governor of Egypt, Septimius Macro being commander in chief, and Plinius Capito general of the forces, in the third year of the emperor Cæsar Titus Ælius Adrianus Antoninus Augustus, the Pious. Mesore the eighteenth. (August 11.)

In the 46th number of Valpy's Classical Journal, Page 370, is the same inscription copied subsequently by Mr. Hyde, and I have the satisfaction of finding it differ from my own transcript only in one or two letters.

Of the God Amenebis, I am not aware that any mention is made elsewhere; but that is no objection to the correctness of this reading, as the Pantheon of Egypt seems to be inexhaustible, and names of Deities, unheard of before, are still not unfrequently found in inscriptions. Tchonemyris would appear to be the name of the place, but is not noticed by ancient geographers; for, as I shall have occasion to show

afterwards, though they were correct in the general position of this district, they were quite ignorant of the details of it. Dr. Young has observed, that an inscription, preserved by Gruter, exhibits the name Acilius Heliodorus, and hence he inferred at first sight, that we should here read Acilius for Avidius: but, upon further consideration, it appears evident that Avidius is correct, since Avidius Cassius, who is mentioned by Vulcatius and others, as a competitor for the empire, was the son of Heliodorus, who, according to Dio Cassius, was promoted to the government of Egypt on account of his skill in rhetoric.

The date of the third year of the emperor Titus Antoninus enables us to fix the restoration of the Temple at A. D. 140. It would seem probable that this took place in pursuance of the plan or orders of his predecessor Hadrian, whose fondness for Egyptian Mythology induced him to repair and embellish many of the temples which had been long neglected, and ruinous. History does not inform us that the first An-

tonine particularly interested himself in this country, but Dio Cassius celebrates the munificence of his successor Marcus Aurelius on his visit to Egypt at the suppression of the rebellion of Avidius Cassius.

The day was far advanced before we began to return. On our way we crossed a remarkably strong chalybeate stream, and at the village of Genau were shown another quite hot, deeply impregnated with iron and sulphur. The shehk and inhabitants of this place showed us, as usual, much attention, and some bread they gave us, was the best we had tasted in Egypt. We made them a little present in money, which, as they did not seem to expect, they received with great satisfaction, and several of them accompanied us part of our way home. It was nearly dark before we reached our encampment at El Cargé.

The following morning we paid a second visit to the temple, and found enough to occupy us there till evening. We entered it through a dromos, of which the enclosures are so broken, as to make it difficult to dis-

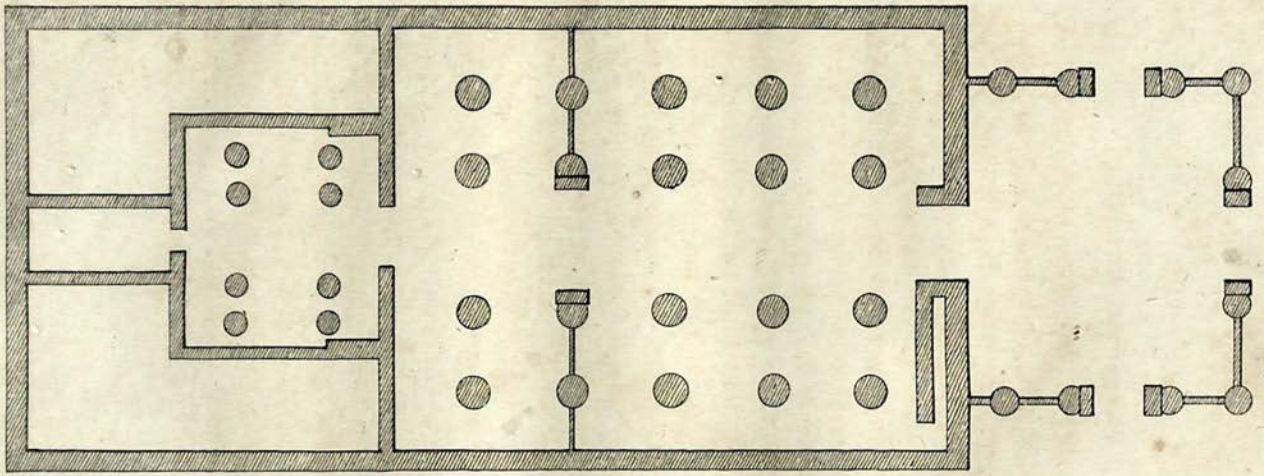
Drawn on Stone by J.D. Harding from a Sketch by A.E.

Printed by C. Hullmandel

SECOND VIEW OF THE TEMPLE OF EL CARGE.

Pub.d by J. Murray, Albemarle Street

ROYAL BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY



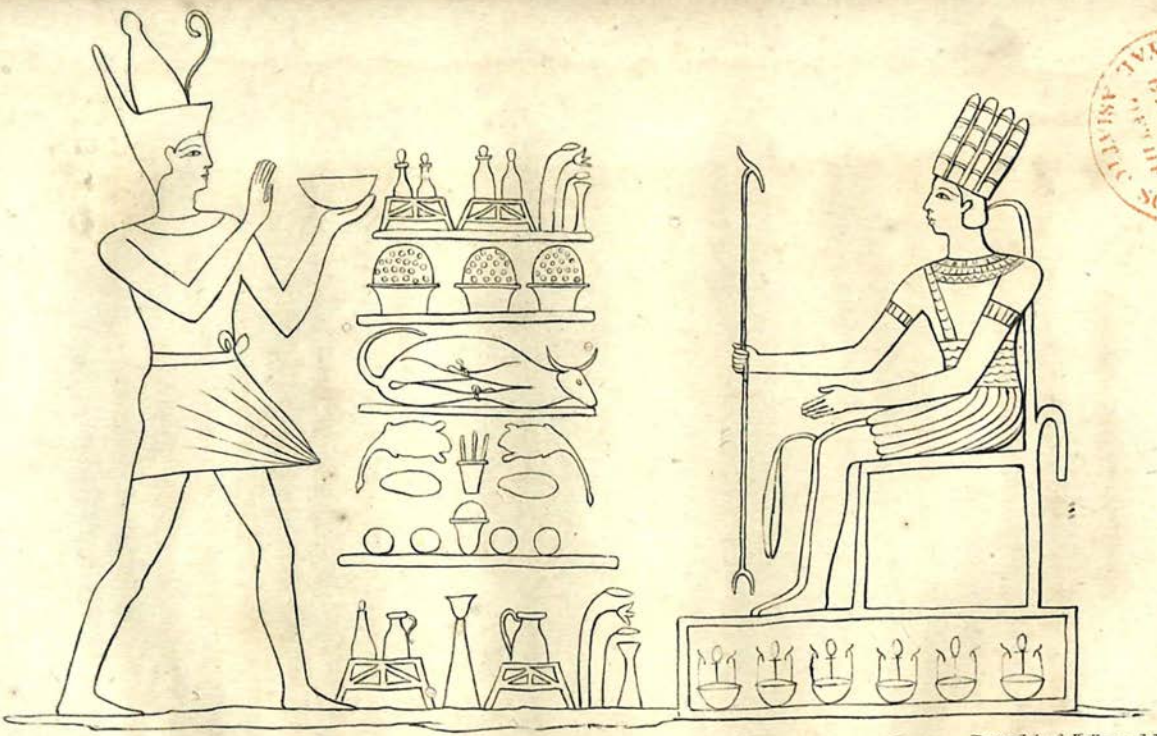
PLAN OF THE GREAT TEMPLE OF EL CARGÉ.

A.E. fecit

Printed by C. Hullmandel.

cern accurately the shape, and prevented our taking the dimensions. Among the ruins, however, we could distinguish that it had been formed by a parapet wall, surmounted by a cornice connecting ten columns, with spaces for entrances on each side. The temple stands east and west, and a rich cornice runs all round the top. The front is completely covered with colossal figures and hieroglyphics, which, as they extend but half way on the north and south sides, give the whole exterior an unfinished appearance. The great door-way is much ornamented, and leads to a magnificent apartment 60 feet 8 inches long, by 54 feet 3 inches wide, nearly filled with sand, where are twelve columns 13 feet 2 inches in circumference. On the left hand of the entrance, are two small dark chambers, one over the other, of which it would be difficult to assign the use. The second chamber 17 feet 10 inches, by 54 feet 3 inches, is divided from the first by a sort of skreen, formed by a wall lower than that of the temple, intersected by four columns,

which, together with four others in the centre of the apartment, now fallen, are of the same size as those just mentioned. This chamber is traced all over with figures and hieroglyphics on stucco, retaining marks of paint, particularly blue and red; whereas the first is quite plain, except on the west side. The third is 28 feet 8 inches long, and 30 feet 9 inches wide, ornamented likewise, and containing eight columns of much less dimensions than the others. Parallel, but not communicating with it, are two divisions, in one of which is a staircase. Last of all comes the Adytum, 20 feet by 8 feet, as usual richly carved, and blackened with smoke. On each side are some other compartments, but detached, and so choked up that it was impossible to make out their shape. The roof of the rest of the building is fallen in, excepting some stones occasionally supported by the pillars; but that of the Adytum, which is lower, is entire, and composed of immense stones: we measured one, and found it 19 feet 4 inches long, 35 broad, and 2 feet 3 inches thick.



ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY — LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH

Drawn on Stone by J.D.Harding from a Sketch by A.E. *Printed by C.Hullmandel.*

BANQUET OF OSIRIS ON THE INNER PROPYLON TO THE TEMPLE OF EL CARGE.

Publ: by J.Murray Albemarle St.

To the east of the temple are three detached door-ways, at different intervals, and of different proportions; but as they do not resemble the propyla that are usual in other parts of Egypt, I am induced to think that this edifice was surrounded by a triple wall, in the same way that Diodorus tells us the celebrated temple of Jupiter Ammon was. The first, or nearest, is a solid door-way 18 feet from the main building, with figures all round it; and, among others on the inside, is a representation of Osiris at a banquet, of colossal proportion. This is, I believe, not uncommon, and is again found on the west front. On the roof are five spread eagles, sometimes called the Birds of Pharaoh, painted, of which red and blue are the principal colours.

The second, which is at some distance, in the same direction, but not in a straight line, is materially higher than even the temple itself. Half only is standing, and has a few figures carved in relief within. There are the remains of brick-work strangely placed on the top. As it would be too high

for any purposes of defence, it may not improbably have been the residence of one of the Stelite hermits, of which many traces remain. At Athens, one of these aerial mansions is still in existence on the top of the magnificent Corinthian columns called the Temple of Jupiter Olympius.

The last of these propyla is low and imperfect: the east end is completely covered with a Greek inscription. I spent some time in endeavouring to copy it; but, as the sun shone hot upon it, and I had no means of reaching the upper part, I could only trace two or three words. The lower portion was too much effaced to enable me to decipher it with facility. Mr. Hyde had better success, and has published the whole of it in the forty-fifth and forty-sixth numbers of the Classical Journal. To the kindness of Dr. Young, I am indebted for the following corrected copy, and for the translation of these inscriptions, as well as the foregoing; and it gives me great pleasure to be able publicly to testify my acknowledgments for his obliging assistance.

Note.—The Letters altered are distinguished by Capitals, except some evident Errors of Orthography.

(1) Ιουλιος δημητριος στρατηγος Οασεως ΘΗΒαΙδος · Του πεμφθεντος μοι διαταγματος ὑπο του κυριου ἡΓΕμονος (2) τιβεριου ἰουλιου αλεξανδρου , το αντιγραφον ὑμΙν ὑπεταξα · ἱν' ειδοΤΕς απολαυητε των ευεργεΣιων —(A) ΤουΘΕΟυΑΕΙβιου σεβαστου σουλπικιου (3) γαλβα αυτοκρατορος · φᾶωφι ᾱ , ΕΤ-ρυΣ Β σεβαστηι · τιβΕριος ἰουλιος αλεξανδρος λεγει · πασαν προνοιαν ποιουμενος του διαμενειν τωι πρόσηκοΝτι . κΑ (4) ταστηματι την πολιν , απολαυουσαν των ευεργεσιων ὰς εχει παρα των σεβαστων , και του την αιγυπτον , εν ευσταθεια διαγουσαν , ευθυμως ὑπηρετειν τηι τε ευθηνια , και τηι μεγισ(5)τηι (B) Των νυν καιρων ευδαιμονια , μη βαρυνομενην καιναις και αδικοις εισπραξεσι · σχεδον δε εξ οὐ της πολεΩς επεβην καταβοωμενος ὑπο των ἐντυγχανοντων και κατ' οΙΚου (Γ) και κα(6)τα

πληθη των τε ενθαδε ευσχημονεστατων και των "των" γεωργουντων την χωραν, μεμφομενων τας εγγιστα γενομενας επηρειας· ου διελιπον μεν κατα την εμαυτου ΔΥνΑμιν τα επειγον (7) τα επανορθουμενος· ινα δε ευΘυμοτεΡοι παντα ελπιζη-τε παρα του επιλαμψοντος ημιν επι σωτηρια του παντος ανθρωπων γενους· ευεργετου σεβαστου αυτοκρατορος γαλβα, τα τε προς Σωτηριαν (8) Και τα προς απολαυσιν, και γινωσκητε ὁΤΙ εφροντισα των προς την ὑμετεραν βοηθειαν ανηκοντων· προεγραψα αναγκαιως πεΡι ἑκαστου των επιζητουμενων ὁσα εξεστι μοι κρι(9)νειν και ποιειν· τα δε μειζονα, και δεομεΝΑ της Του αυτοκρατορος δυναμεως και μεγαλειοΤητος, αυτωι δηλωσω μετα πασης αληθειας· των θεων (Δ) ΔανΕΙσαμενων εις τουτον τον (10) ἱεροτατον Καιρον της οικουμενης ασφαλειαν· εγνων γαρ προ παντος ευλογωτατην ουσαΝ ΤηΝ εντευΞιν ὑμων ὑπερ του μη ακοντας ανθρωπους εις τελωνειας η αλ(11)λας μισθωσεις ουσιακας παρα το κοινον Εθος των επαρχειων προς βιαν· αγεσθαι, και ὁτι ουχ' οΛ . . . . (Ε) εκλα . . . ψε των

πραγματα Το πολλους απειρους οντας της τοιαυ-
(12)της πραγματειας αχθηναι μετ' αναγκης, επιβληθεντων αυτοις των τελων · διοπερ κ' αυτος ουτε ηγαγον τινα εις τελωνειαν η μισθωσιν, ουτε αξω, Ειδως τουτο (13) συμφερειν · κὰι πα εN κυριακαις ψηφοις το μετα προθυμιας ἑκοντας πραγματευεσθαι τους δυνατους . πεπεισμαι δε ὁτι ουδε εις (Z) τον εμον ακοντα τις ἀξει τελωνας (14) η μισθωτας, αλλα διαμισθωσει τοις βουλομενοις ἑκουσιως προερχεσθαι, μαλλον την των προτερων επαρχων αιωνΙσν συνΗθειαν Φυλασσων η την προς καιρον τινος αδικιαν (15) μιμησαμενος · επειδη ενιοι προΦασει των δημοσιων. καΙ αλλοτρΙα δανεια παραχωρουμενοι, εις τε το πρακτορειον Τινας πΑρεδοσαν και εις αλλας Φυλακας · ἁς καὶ δΙ' αυτο τουτο (16) εγνων ἀναιρεθεισας, ἱν' αἱ πραξεις των δανειων εκ των ὑπαρχοντων ὡσι, και μη εκ των Σωματων · ἑπομενος τηι του θειου σεβαστου βουλησει · κελευω μηδενα Τηι των δημοσιων προΦΑ(17)σει παραχωρεισθαι παρ' αλλων δανεια ἁ μη αὐτος ἐξ ἀρχης εδανισεν · μηδ' ὁλως κΑτακλειεσθαι τινας

ελευθερους εις Φυλακην ηντινουν, ει μη κακουργον · μηΔ' εις το πρακ(18)τορειον εξω Των οφειλοντων εις τον κυριΑκον λογον · ινα Δε μηδαμοθεν βαρυνηι τας προς αλληλους συναλλαγας το των δηΜοσιων ονομα, μηΔε συνεχωσι την κοινην Πιστιν (19) οι τηι πρωτοπραξια προς ᾀ μη δει καταχρωμενοι, Και περι ταυτης ανᾶγκαιως προεγραψα · εδηλωθη γαρ μοι πολλακις ὁτι ηδη τινες και ὑποθηκας επειρασᾶν αφελεσθαι, νομιμως (20) Γεγονυιας, και αποδεδομενα δανεια παρα των απολαβοντων αναπρασσειν προς βιαν, και αγορασμους αναλαστους ποιειν, αποσπωντες τα κτηματα των ωνησαμενων, ὡς (21) συμβεβληκοτων τισιν αναβολικα· ειληφοσΙ εΚ του φισκου, η στρατηγοις, η πραγματικοις η αλλοις των προσοφειληκοτων τωι δημοσιωι λογωι · κελευω ουν, ὁστις-αν ενθαΔε (22) επιτροπος του κυριου η οικονομος ὑποπτον τινα εχηι των εν τοις δημοσιοις πραγμασι οντων, κατεχεσθαι αυτου το ονοΜα; η προγραφειν, ἱν . . . σις τωι τοιουτωι συμβαλληι (23) Β μΕρη των ὑπαρχοντων αὐτου κατεχειν εν τοις δημοσιοις γραμματοφυλακιοις

προσοφειλημα · εαν δε τις , μητε ονοματος κατεσχημενου , μητε των υπαρχοντων κρατουμενων (24) , δανισηι νομιμως , λαβων υποθηκην , η φθασηι ἁ εδανισεν κομισασθαι , η και ωνησηται τι , μη κατεχομενου του ονοματος , μηδε του υπαρχοντος , ουδεν πραγμα ἐξει · (25) τας μεν γαρ προικας (H) αλλοτριαζουσας και ου των ειληφοτων ανδρων και ὁ θεος σεβαστος εκελευσεν και οἱ ἐπαρχοι εκ του φισκου ταις γυναιξι αποδιδοσθαι , ὡν βεβαιαν δει (26) την πρωτοπραξιαν φυλασσειν · ενετευχθην δε και περι των ατελειων και κουφοτελειων εν αἱς εστιν και τα προσδικα αξιουντων αυτας φυλαχθηναι ὡς ὁ θεος κλαυδιος (27) εγραψεν ποστομωι Απολυων και λεγοντων ὑστερον κατακεκρισθαι τα ὑπο ιδιωτων πραχθεντα εν τωι μεσωι χρονωι · μεθ' ὁ φλακκον κατακρινει , και προ του τον θεον (28) κλαυδιον απολυσαι · επει ουν και βαλβιλλος και ουηστεινος ταυτα απελυσαν , αμφοτερων των Επαρχων επικριματα φυλασσων , και εκΕινων κατηκολουθηκοτων τηι (29) του θεου κλαυδιου χαριτι , ὡστε απολελυσθαι τα μηδεπω εξ αυτων εισπραχθεντα ,

δηλονοτι εις το λοιΠον τηρουμενης ατελειας και κουφοτελειας · ὑπερ δε (30) των εκ του καισαρος λογου πραχθεντων εν τωι μεσωι χρονωι , περι ὡν εκφορια κατεκριθη , ὡς ουησΤεινος εκελευσεν τα καθηκοντα τελεισθαι , και αυ(31)τος Ιστημι , απολελυκως τα μηδἘπω ἐισπραχθεντα, και προς το μελλΟν μενειν αυτα επι τοις καθηκουσι · αδικον γαρ Εστιν τους ωνησαμενους κτη(32)ματα , και τιμας αυτων αποδοντας , ὡς ὁημοσιους γεωργους εκφορια απαιτεισθαι των ἰδιων εδαΦων · ακολουθον δε ετι τηι των σεβαστων (33) χαριτι και τους εγγενεις αλεΞανδρεις και εν τη .... αια φιλεργια κατοΙΚουΝταΣ .... (34) πολλακις μεν επεζητησατε , κ' αυτος δε φυλασσω , ὡστε μηδενα των εγγενων αλεξανδρεων εις λειτουργιας χωρικας αγεσΘαι · μελησει δ' ε(35)μοι και τας στρατηγιας μετα διαλογισμου προς τριετιαν εγχΕιριζειν τοις καταστἀθησομενοις · καθολου ΛεΓω , ὁσακις επαρχος επ' αυτον αχθεντα εφθα(36)σεν κρινας απολυσαι , μηκετι εις διαλογισμον αγεσθαι · εαν δε και δυο επαρχοι το αυτο πεφρονηκοτες ωσι , και κολαστεος εστιν ὁ εκλο-

χιστης ὁ τα αυτα εις διαλογισμον (37) αΓων, ΚΑι μηδεν αλλο ποιων πλην Αργυριζμου προφασιν καταλειπων ἑαυτωι και τοις αλλοις πραγματικοις· πολλοΙ ουν ηξιωσαν εκστησαι μαλλον των ιδιων κτηματΤων, ὡς (38) πλειον της τιμης αυτων ανηλωκοτες, δια το καθ' ἑκαστον διαλογισμον τα αυτα πρΑΓματα εις κρισιν αγεσθαι· το δ' αυτο και περι των εν ιδιωι λογωι πραγματων αγΟμενων ἱστημι· ὡσ(39)τε ειτι κριθεν απελυθη η απολυθησεται ὑπο του προς τωι ιδιωι λοΓωι τεταγμενου, μηκετι εξειΝαι τουτωι εισΑγγελλειν κατηγορωι, μηδε εις κρισιν αγεσθαι, η ὁ τουτο ποιησας απαραιτη(40)τως ζημιωθησεται· ουδεν γαρ εσται περας των συκοφαντΗματων, εαν τα απολελυμενα αγηται ἑως τις αυτα κατακρινηι· ηδη δε της πολΕως σχεδον αοικηΤου γενομενης δια το (41) πληθος των συκοφαντωι, και πασης οικιας συνταρασσομενης, αναγκαιως κελευω, εαν μεν τις των εν ιδιωι λογωι καΤηγορων, ὡς ἑτερωι συνηγορων, εισαγηι ὑποθεσιν, παρισταθαΙ ὑπ' (42) αυτου τον προσαγγειλαντα, ἱΝα μηδε εκεινος ακινδυνος ΗΙ· εαν δε ιδιωι

ὀνοματι κατενεγκων τρεῖς ὑποθεσεις μη αποδειξηι, μηκετι εξειναι αυτωι κατηγορειν, αλλα το ἡμισυ αυτου (43) της ουσιας αναλαμβανεσθαι· αδικωτατον γαρ εστιν πολλοις επαγοντα κινδυνους, ὑπερ ουσιων και της ατιμιας, αυτον δια παντος ανευθυνον ειναι· και καθολου δε (44) κελευω και τον γνωμονα του αειβιου θεου.. αι τα καινα ποιηθεντα παρα τας των σεβαστων χαριτας ε.. νο.. ως αιισι, οηγο:.. ω.. (45) ε δειχθεντας συκοφαντας ὡς εδει ετιμωρησαμην· ουκ αγνοω δ' ὁτι πολλην προνοιαν ποιεισθε και του την αιγυπτον ευσταθειαι..... εξησ.... (46) χορηγιας εχετε, ὁσα οιον τε ην επανωρθωσαμην· ενετυχον γαρ μοι πολλακις καθ' ὁλην την χωραν γεωργουντες, και εδηλωσαν ὁτι πολλακις κατεκριθησαν (47) και ἀλλα τελεσματα σιτικα και αργυρικα· και ουκ εξον τοις βουλομενοις ευχερως καθολικον τι καινιζειν· ταυτα δε και τα τοιαυτα κατακριματα ουκ επι την θηβαιδα μονην (48) ουδε επι τους πορρω νομους της.. χωρας αλλα και τα προαστα της πολεως εφθασεν, την

τε αλεξανδρεων καλουμενην, χωραν, και τον μαρεωτην .. (49) .. ειατα νομΟστρατηγοις · ίνα ειτινα κάινως τηι εγγιστα πενταετία τα μη προτερον τελουμενα καθολικως η πληθικως νομων η το πα .. (50) ε κριθηται, τα εις την προτεραν ταξιν αποκαταστησωσιν, παρεντες αυτων την απαιτησιν ά και επι τον διαλογισμον αχθεντα εκ των .. (51) .. γ .. ωασα .. ετι και προτερον · και την αμετρον εξουσιαν των εκλογιστων δια το .. παν καΤ αυτων καταβσαν, επι τωι παραγραφειν αυτους πλειστα εκ τ .. (52) .. ν εΞ ού Σύνεβαίνεν αυτους μεν αργυριζεσθαι, την δε αιγυπτοΐ ανασταστον γΕνεσθαι · και νυν τοις αυτοις παραγγελλω, μηδεν εξ όμοιωμΑΤΟΣ .. (53) ΠΡογΡαφεΙν, αλλ .. πια αλλο τι τωι καθολου, χωρις του κριναι τον επαρχον · κελευω δε και τοις στρατηγοις μηδεν παρ' εκλογιστων μεταλαμβανειν, χωρις .. (54) .. η επαρχου · και οί αλλοι δε πραγματικοι εαν τι εύρεθωσι ψευδες η παρα το δεον "παραγεσιαφοτες", και τοις ιδιωταις αποδωσουσιν οίον απητηθη ΕΞ αΡΧαιοΥ .. (55) .. υ εις το δημοσιον · της δ' αυτης κακοτεχνιας

εΙΣιν αποδεδεΓμενΑι κατα συνοψιν απαιτησΕις , Ου προς την ουσαν ανΑβαΣΙΝ . . (56) . . πολαι προς συγκρισιν αρχαιας ετερων τινων αναβασεων . . της αληθειας αυτης ουδεν δοκει δικαιοτερον ειναι θαι . . (57) . . ι . . ιδαι και προθυμωΣ Γεωργειν τους ανθΡωπουΣ ΕιδοΤΑς οτι προς το αληθες της ουσης αναβασεως και της βεβρεγΜΕΝΗΣ ΧΩΡΑΣ . . (58) Ου προς ΣΥκοφαντιαν των κατα συνΟψιν Και αΡΧαιΩΝ Φορων " ων " η απαιτησις εσται . εαν δε τις εξελεγχΩΝ ΕψεΥσαΤο . . (59) . . ν τον τον τριπλασιον αποδωΣεΙ . οσοι μεν γαρ εφοβηθησαν ακουσαντες περι αναμετρησεως της εν τηι αλεξανδρεωΝ ΧΩΡΑι . . (60) . . ΟΥδεν εδει τηΣ αρχαιας γΗς , Εις ην ουδεποτε σχοινιον κατηνεχθη , μη ματην εΝνοεισθωσαν . ουτε Ετολμησαν . . (61) . . ι τηι ανΑΜετρησιν , ουτε τΟΛΜΗΣΟΥΣΙΝ ετι . μενειν γαρ οφΕιΛεΙ εξ αιωνος αυτης δικΑΙΟΝ . το δ'αυτο ιστημΙ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡι των το . . (62) . . ων πρΟσγενηματων , ωστε ΟΥδεν επ' αυτων καινιζεσθαι . περι δε των αρχαιοτεΡΩΝ ΑΝΑΜΕΤΡΗσεων εν κει . . νημοναις , η . . (63) . . εν η οσαι πολλακις . . πλεΟν πΕριειησαν ,

πλην αργυρισμου των αγΟμενων και της τω . . ρον επι . . α . . (64) . . ε . . τῳ αυτοΚρατορι γραφων . . η τα των αλλων , . . εαΝ αυτωι δηλώ τωι μονωι δυναμΕΝΩι τα τοιαυτα ὁλ- . . ως ἐκκοπΤειν . . (65) . . αιτησΑΙ των ΑΥτωΝ ΣωτηΡιας ἡ δΙΗνεκης ΕΥΕργεσια και προνοια . . ΕΤΟΥς πΡωτοΥ (1) του Αειβιου ΘΕΟΥ . . . ΣΟΥΛΠΙΚΙΟΥ (66) ΓΑΛβα ΚαιΣαρος σεΒαΣΤΟυ αυτοκρατορος · ΕπιφΙ ιβ . . .

TRANSLATION.

(1) I, Julius Demetrius, Commander of the Thebaic Oasis, have transmitted to you a copy of the Ordinance sent to me by the Lord Governor (2) Tiberius Julius Alexander*; in order that being acquainted with it, you may enjoy the (A) benefits of the Immortal, the Divine and August Sulpicius (3) Galba the Emperor. The 1st Phaophi

* Tiberius Alexander, præfectus Ægypti, primus in verba Vespasiani legiones adegit, calendis Julii, qui principatus dies in posterum observatus est.—Suetonius, Vespas. c. 6.

(29th October,) of the year 2, according to the Augustan Calendar.

Tiberius Julius Alexander says: "Taking all possible care that the city should remain in proper (4) order, and should enjoy the benefits which have been conferred on it by the august Emperors, and that Egypt, continuing in tranquillity, should obey the laws with cheerfulness, in abundance, and in the unprecedented (5) happiness of the (B) present times, not being aggrieved by new and unjust exactions: and almost from the time of my first entrance into the city, having been intreated by those who met me both at home (Γ) and (6) among the multitude of the most respectable persons here that are employed in cultivating the land, complaining of the outrages that had lately been committed: I have not ceased, as far as lay in my power, to correct those things (7) which were the most urgent. But that you may hope with the greater confidence for every advantage from him that has now shone out upon us for the safety of the whole race of mankind, our benefactor the

august Emperor Galba, both with regard to your protection (8) and to your comforts; and that you may know that I have taken care of every thing that can contribute to your advantage, I have issued positive edicts respecting every thing that was required, as far as I had the power of judging (9) and of acting: and with respect to things of greater importance, and which require the power and magnificence of the Emperor, I will explain them to him with perfect truth: the Gods having lent the (Δ) security of the world to this most (10) auspicious period. For I am well aware that your remonstrances are most reasonable, that men should not be brought against their will into the exchequers, or other (11) payments of their substance, by force, and contrarily to the common custom of the provinces, and that the proper transaction of the business cannot require (E) that many who are unacquainted with such (12) modes of proceeding should be brought up by force, having arbitrary impositions laid upon them. I have therefore myself never

brought any man into the exchequer, nor will I ever do it; knowing that this line of conduct is for (13) the public benefit: and that the imperial accounts should be farmed by those who undertake it willingly and according to their ability: and I am persuaded that no one in my (Z) time will force any person to act as a tax-gatherer (14) or public officer against his will, but that those who are disposed to come forwards voluntarily will have their services repaid: since I am determined rather to follow the established custom of former governors than to (15) imitate the occasional injustice of any individual. For some persons, under the pretence of a public demand, and having made over the debts of others, have thrown several such defendants into the debtor's prison, and into other places of confinement, which for this very reason (16) I have thought proper to suppress, in order that money lent may be recovered from the property and not from the persons of the debtors: following herein the will of the Imperial Deity: and I ordain that

no one under the character ([17]) of a public accountant shall make over debts from others, which have not been originally so contracted: and that no freemen shall on any occasion be imprisoned unless they be criminals: nor be confined in the debtor's ([18]) prison unless they be in debt to the public revenue. But in order that the name of the public debt may not interfere with the interests of private commerce, and that the public faith may not be committed ([19]) by those who convert the rights of priority of payment, or of "extent in aid," into an engine of oppression, I have issued a positive edict on this subject also: for it has repeatedly been made known to me that some persons have attempted to withdraw pledges, which were ([20]) secured according to law, and to reclaim loans by force from those who had received the money, and to annul the validity of sales, dispossessing the purchasers of the things which they had bought ([21]) upon the pretence that the bargains were made with persons, who had

received the property for a term only from the treasury, or with a military commander, or a tax-gatherer, or some other person indebted to the public revenue. I therefore ordain, that whenever any (22) commissioner or steward of the emperor entertains any suspicions of a person employed in the public business, he shall identify his name, or openly declare it, in order that if any be committed by such a person (23) .. two thirds of his property shall be held in the public records as a debt: but if any person neither having his name so entered, nor his property under (24) control, should lend according to the law, taking security, or should already have received what he has lent, or should have bought any thing without having his name or his property entered, he shall not be further disturbed. (25) But with respect to the marriage portions which are outstanding, and have (H) not become the property of the husbands, both the Imperial divinity and the governors of the province have ordered that they should be paid out

of the treasury to the wives, whose priority of payment (26) must remain inviolable. Applications have also been made to me respecting immunities and partial exemptions; among which are the peculiar privileges (Θ) it has been represented to me that they ought to be preserved as the divine Claudius (27) ordered in his rescript to Posthumus, conceding them; and it has been said that those things which had been exacted afterwards by individuals had been afterwards condemned, and that Flaccus had condemned them; and that the divine (28) Claudius had previously remitted them. Since therefore Balbillus and Vestinus have remitted these payments, I observe the decisions of both these governors, which were also in conformity with the (29) gracious pleasure of the divine Claudius, so that the payments which had never been exacted were remitted, the immunities and partial exemptions being confirmed for the future; and with respect to (30) what had been exacted in the mean time on Cæsar's account,

where a rent had been established, as Vestinus ordered that the proper sums should be paid: I (31) also decree, having remitted that which has not yet been exacted, that the proper payments should remain for the future as they are established: for it is unjust that those who have purchased (32) property, and paid the price for it should be required to pay a rent for their own estates, like public tenants; it is also consistent with the gracious intentions (33) of our august emperors, that the natives of Alexandria, who are settled in the country for the purpose of exercising their industry [should be protected and encouraged.] (34) It has often been demanded, and I adhere to the regulation, that no native of Alexandria should be burdened with local services: and I shall (35) take care that military commands shall be retained, where there has been any litigation, for three years, by those who shall be appointed to them. I declare, in general, that whenever a governor shall once (36) have given judgment,

and acquitted a person brought before him, the person shall not again be brought to trial: and if two governors shall have agreed in their opinion, the accuser shall also be punished, who has brought the same affair twice into the court ([37]) of justice, and with no other effect than to afford a subject of complaint of extortion against himself and against tax-gatherers in general; for many persons have thought proper rather to remain deprived of their just possessions, having ([38]) spent more than their value, from the custom of bringing the same actions before every court of enquiry; and I make the same decree respecting private actions; that if ([39]) any thing has been tried and dismissed, or shall be dismissed, by the judge appointed to try private causes, it shall no longer be lawful for the plaintiff to renew his suit, or to try the cause again: and whoever acts to the contrary, shall be fined without ([40]) excuse; for there will be no end of informations, if causes which have been dismissed are brought for-

wards again continually, until the culprit be condemned; and the city having already become almost uninhabited, on account of the (41) multitude of informers, and every family being disturbed by them, I peremptorily command, that if any one brings an action on his own account, and gives an information upon suspicion, in conjunction with another, he must bring (42) forward the person from whom the information is obtained, in order that this person may not be exempt from responsibility; and if any person has given three informations upon suspicion, and has failed to support them by proof, it shall not be lawful for him to institute any action in future, but he shall be mulcted half of (43) his property; for it is most unjust that one, who has endangered the property and honour of many, should himself escape wholly without responsibility. And, in all cases, I (44) also direct the Registrar of the Immortal Imperial Deity to take account of all innovations inconsistent with the gracious intentions of the Augusti . . .

([45]) . . . those who have been proved to be corrupt informers I have punished as they deserved. I am well aware that you already take great care for the tranquillity of Egypt: ([46]) the expenses of public works that you have to sustain, I have controlled as much as possible; for I have had many applications from agriculturists throughout the country, informing me, that they had often been judicially compelled ([47]) . . . other exorbitant taxes in corn and money: and that facilities were not afforded to those who attempted to improve their estates upon an extensive scale; and that these and similar adjudications had taken place, not only in the Thebaid ([48]) and in the more distant Nomes, but that they had extended to the very suburbs of the city, the proper territory of the Alexandrians, and to the Mareotis ..... ([49]) ..... to the commanders of the Nomes, that if they have surcharged any person within the last five years with sums which were not universally, or for the most part,

paid by the Nomes, or before..... (50) ..... shall be judged; they shall restore the assessments to their former state, and shall relinquish the demand of what has been exacted by the tax-office for the..... (51) ..... likewise heretofore; and the excessive power of the collectors in all parts, and the complaints that are made of their many exaggerated charges and litigations .....; (52) ..... whence it has happened that they have been enriched, but that the tranquillity of Egypt has been disturbed: I now also command these same persons not to assess any taxes according to the example of another place (53) ..... nor to make any alterations in the general arrangements without obtaining judgment from a governor: and I direct that the military commanders shall receive nothing from the tax-gatherers without (54) ... or the governors: and if any other revenue officers should be found to have carried off property upon false pretences, or contrarily to law, they shall make restitution to the individuals, so as to

reduce the payment to that which has been established of old, and shall pay a fine to the treasury. It is also in consequence of a similar fraud that demands have been made for taxes upon an average rate, and not in conformity with the actual ascent of the inundation ..... (56) ..... having taken into account some ancient registers of the ascents of former years; while in fact nothing seems more just than that the tax should be paid according to the inundation of the current year (57) ..... and it is natural that the cultivators should continue their labours with the greater alacrity, when they know that they are to be rated according to the actual inundation, and the extent of the grounds overflowed ..... (58) to corrupt informations regarding the average rate, and the old duties which are demanded: and if any person in bringing evidence shall be found to have falsified it, he (59) shall pay a fine of three times the amount to the public treasury. And with regard to those who have been alarmed by hearing of the

admeasurements which have taken place in the country about Alexandria (60) ..... there was no need of it with respect to the old land, upon which the measuring rod was never carried; let them not entertain any unnecessary anxiety: neither have they dared to propose an admeasurement, nor will they dare to do it; for it must still remain at the just rate established from time immemorial: and I ordain the same concerning (62) ..... the late additions, so that none of them shall be disturbed. But with respect to the more ancient admeasurements ..... (63) as many as have frequently .... have had no other effect than to rob those who have been cited, and to ..... (64) ... by writing to the Emperor, respecting the affairs of others, if I explain them to him who alone is able entirely to remove such difficulties ..... (65) demanding for their preservation: his constant beneficence and vigilance..... In the first year of the everliving deity (66) (I) Sulpicius Galba Cæsar Augustus the Emperor; Epiphi 12, or July 9. (A. D. 68.)

On the south corner of the east point is the following:

(1) Ποσιδωνιος στρατηγος · (2) της πεμφθεισης μοι ὑπο του κυριου ἡγεμονος (3) επιστολης, συν τωι ὑποτεταγμενωι προσταΓΜΑΤΙ (4) τα(Κ)απΟγραφα Ὑμιν ὑποτεταχα ἱν' ειδοΤΕΣ (5) ΑΥτα κΑΤΑΝοΗΘητε, και μηδεν ὑπεναντιον τοις προσΤΕΤΑΓΜΕΝΟΙΣ (6) ΕΓΧΕΙΡΙΖΗΤΕ· ΕΤοΥΣ (Λ) ενατου τιβεριου κλαυδιου καισαρος (7) ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙκου αυτοκρατορος· μεχειΡΕ(8) ΓΝΑΙΟΣ ΟΥΑΛΕΡΙΟΣ ΚΑΠΙτων ποσειδωνιωι στρατηγωι οασεΩΣ (9) ... της πολεως ωιο .... Θηκα διατχεμα(Μ)....(10)ρωψας ...ΒΟυλομαι ουν εεμ (11) τε τηι μητροπολει του νομου και καΘ' ἑ(12)να ΑυΤο προΘειναι σαφεΣι και ευσημοις ΓΡΑΜΜΑΣΙ (13) καΤΑ στΗλην· ἁ γενηται ταχα ΕΠ' εμου.

TRANSLATION.

(1) Posidonius commander.(2) I have transmitted you copies of the letter sent to me by the Lord Governor (3) with the ordinance contained in it, (4) in order that being acquainted with them (5) you may act in conformity with them, and do nothing contrary to these commands. (6) In the ninth year of Tiberius Claudius Cæsar (7) Augustus Germanicus the Emperor, Mechir 5 (8) or Jan. 31. (A.D. 24.) Cnæus Valerius Capito to Posidonius the commander of the Oasis (9) The city being .... (10) .. I require you therefore (11) to affix them separately in the chief city of the Nome (12) in clear and legible characters (13) on a column, and let this be done speedily, in my time.

The succeeding inscription is probably the ordinance mentioned in the last, as it has no preface or date, and is engraved on the middle of the south side of the east point:

(1) Γναιος Ιουλιος καπιτων λεΓει · (2) και παλαι μεΝ ηκουον τινας δαπανας αδικους και παραλογΙ(3)ας ὑπο των πλεονεκτικως και ανΑΙδωΣ ταιΣ Τε ουσιαις απο(4)χρωμενων γεινεσθαι . και νυν δε εν τη των λιβυωΝ μαλιστα (5) εγνων, ὑποθεσει ὁτι αναλισκεται τινα ἀρΠαζοντων ἁπλω(6)ς των επι ταις χρειαις ὡς ὑποκΕΙμενα εις δαπανας (7) και Ωνιας αυτων · τα μητε ονται μητε οφειλοντα Ειναι · (8) ὁμοιως δε και ανΓαρειων ονοματι, δι' ὁ κελΕυω τους (9) διοδευοΝτας δια των νομων στρατιωτας αιΓΥπΤΙΟΥΣ και (10) Σταπορας και ἑκατονταρχας και χιλιαρχους και τουΣ ΛΟι(11)πους ἁπαντας (N) μηδεν λαμβανειν μηδε αγγΑρευειν , ει μη (12) τινες εμα διπλωματα εχΩΣι, και τουτους δε στεγηι μονον δε(13)χεσθαι τους διερχομενους · υποκειμενον τε μηδενα μηδεν πρατ(14)τειν εξὼ των ὑπο μαΞιμου σταθεντων · ὁΤαν δε τις δωι, η ως δε(15)δομενον λογισηται και εισπραξηι δημοσΙα, τουτον το δεκαπλουν (16) εΓω εκπραξω οὐ αΥτος επραξεν τον νομον · και τωι μηνΥσαντι (17) το τετΡαπλασιον μεΡος δωσω εκ της του κατακριθεντος ουσιας (18) · ὁΙ Βασιλικοι γραμματεις και κωμογραμματεις και τοπογραμ(19)ΜΑ-

τεις κατα νομον παντα ὁσα δαπαναται εκ του νομου εις τινα (20) .... πΕπρακται παραλογως, η αλλο τι αν ανΟΡΘΩΣαν και σ ... ... (21) εξηκοντες Ειδοτως αν οἱ δ' επΙ τΗς Θηβαιδος δια . . : . ετρλλη ορο . . (22) λογιστηρια, και προς βασιλειδην τοΝ καισαρος απελεΥΘερον η .... γ (23) του λογιστηριου, και τους εκλογιστας πεμπετΩσαν, ἱν' εαν παΡα το δικαιον (24) λελογευμενον η πΑρΑΤΕτακγμενον η, τουτο (Ξ) δωρωσομαι· ὁμοιως (continued on the north corner of the south side of the east point) δΕ ΚΑΙ ΒΟΥλομαι δηλουσθαι . . . . προς η αργυριον δι . . . . . μην σκεπαετικου . . . πρωτον ακουσας ε . . . . παρα την του κυριου . . . . . ετολμηΣΑν ησκε . . . . πης τι λαμβανο . . . . ποΛλακις παΡατ . . . εαν τοΙς γΕω . . . ρογραφη. . . . . στρατητΩι . . . . ξηκοντα . . . . ρον προς τ . . . σοω εα . . . . πειναας . . . και τα αμ . . . . και τοιΑυτηι δ . . . . . περελστου . . . ηδη πΡολεγω . . . . των ει και ... νοι τοτ . . . . τους α . . . . φεσοαηλ . . . . . ελασΣω . . . ιτων . . . . ν μοι μετα . . . . αγρ . . . απ . . . οτι ρ εΙς . . . ΜΗΤΡοπολΕι του ολου νο . . . . .

TRANSLATION.

(1) Cnæus Julius? or Valerius * Capito says, (2) I have both heard long ago, that some unjust expenses and overcharges (3) had been made by persons avariciously and shamelessly abusing (4) the properties of individuals; and I have lately become more particularly acquainted with such practices in the Libyan territory (5), on the pretence that sums have been expended by the plaintiffs (6) for the use of the defendants, as being subject to such expenses upon their bargains . . . which charges are neither true nor admissible (8). And the like abuses have occurred with regard to couriers; wherefore, I command (9) all those belonging to the Egyptian army, who are travelling through the Nomes, whether serjeants? (10) or centurions, or tribunes, or of any other description (11) to refrain from receiving any thing, or exacting any services, (12) unless

* In Gruter's inscriptions we find a Julius Capito and a Valerius Capito.

they are furnished with warrants from me, and that they shall then be only accommodated with lodgings (13) on their journey: it being understood that nothing shall be required (14) beyond what was established by Maximus; and if any thing further be given, or be considered (15) as given, and be publicly exacted by any one (16), I will impose a fine upon him to ten times the amount that he has exacted from the nome, and I give a (17) fourfold portion to the informer out of the property of the offender (18). The royal scribes, and the village clerks (19) and the clerks of the districts, in each nome, shall keep a register of all the payments that are made on account of the nome (20) . . . . . in order that if any thing has been unjustly exacted, or if any other injury has been committed, it may be redressed (21) .. coming up, the thing being known: but the inhabitants of the Thebaid may have recourse to the (22) . . . . . tribunals; and let them address themselves to Basilides, the freedman of Cæsar, or (23) .. of the tribunal, and to the judges belonging to that department: and

if any thing shall have been adjudged or exacted contrary to what is just (24).. will reward the informer. (Ξ) In like manner ....

[The fragment which follows may possibly be a part of this decree, but it is too imperfect to be translated.]

On the south side of the eastern Portal.

Αια ... εδαετης ἰν' ἐξηι τωι βουλομενΩΙ
..... Τους ψευσαμενουΣ κελευω δ.....
πΡΕΣβΥτας των νομων ..... ΔηλΩσων αναγ
..... ἰνεικε .... μωιφυς ...πεμπειν ....
μοτικαι .... φλ .... σιασδην .... και ..
ης δοναιινεις δια ... γιε .... αυτων ειναι
φανερον .... ημαΛογου Θειηιω..τ..νδιωιλο
.... εΤους πρΩΤου καιΣαρος σεβΑΣΤΟΥ
ΠαχΩΝ ᾱ.

In these fragments we can only understand that "it may be lawful to any one who is willing ... I order those who have falsified ..... the elders of the nomes .... about to show .... to send .. The first year of Cæsar Augustus, Pachon 1, or April 26."

This is however sufficient to show the nature of the inscription*.

* A few corrections of these inscriptions have been suggested to Dr. Young by a collation with M. Cailliaud's copies, which have been received since the completion of the translations in their present state; and it has been considered as more satisfactory to leave the originals suggestions unaltered in the first instance, and to mention separately the corrections derived from this comparison.

NOTES ON THE FIRST INSCRIPTION.

(A) Read and translate ευεργεσιων. L $\bar{\beta}$ λουκιου λιβιου σιβαστου σουλπικιου γαλβα αυτοκρατορος, φαωφι $\bar{\alpha}$ ιουλια σιβαστη .... "You may enjoy its benefits. In the second year of Lucius Livius Augustus Sulpicius Galba the Emperor: the first of Phaophi (29 October) according to the imperial Julian calendar." Suetonius informs us that Galba took the names of Lucius Livius instead of Servius.

(B) τρισμεγιστη.

(Γ) Και κατ' ολιγους.. "both in small numbers and in multitudes."

(Δ) των θεων ταμιευσαμενων.. "the Gods having reserved."

(Ε) ουκ ολιγων εβλαψε τα πραγματα.. "that it has been injurious to the affairs of not a few persons."

(Ζ) ουδ' εις το μελλον.. "no one for the future."

(H) αλλοτριας ουσας.

(Θ) προσοδικα, probably some "entrance duties," instead of "peculiar privileges."

(I) Ls πρωτου λουκιου λειβιου.. "Lucius Livius" again.

NOTES ON THE SECOND INSCRIPTION.

(K) αντιγραφα.

(Λ) L, for ετους, a common symbol: μεχειρ ξ, the seventh of Mechir.

(M) διαταγμα.

NOTES ON THE THIRD INSCRIPTION.

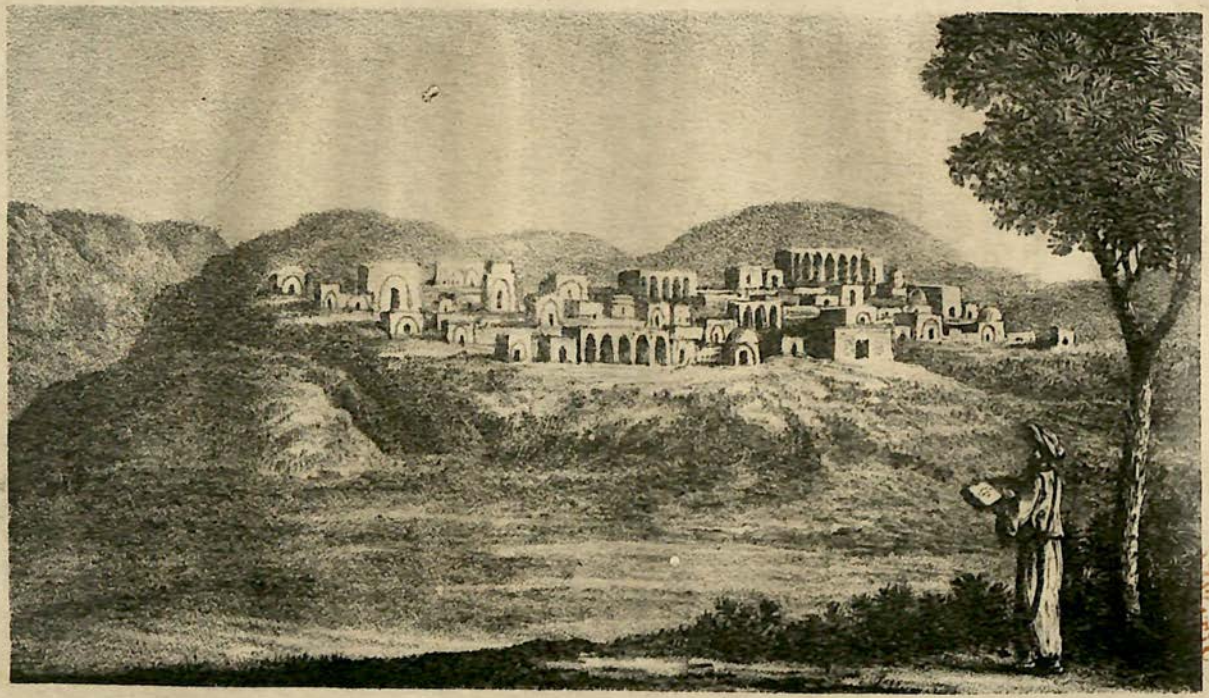
(N) The whole of the eleventh line is omitted by M. Cailliaud, to the total destruction of the sense.

(Ξ) διορθωσομαι.. "I will make reparation."

NOTE ON BELZONI'S INSCRIPTIONS.

It appears from M. Cailliaud's plates, that in Belzoni's Travels, p. 339, B, for 3δ τον λάκκον we must read "ὤρυξα τὸν λάκκον.." having presented them to Mneuis: "I have dug the cistern" and probably μηνὸς παῦνι, "The month Payni," omitting half a drachm. The eighth year of Cæsar;" but "φυλακκον," as M. Cailliaud has printed it, is evidently an erroneous interpolation. The conjectural reading of "Serapis and Mneuis" at the end must be abandoned as inconsistent with the characters copied by M. Cailliaud. In inscription D, after Ἀπόλλωνι insert καὶ: in E, for ἀνέθηκε read ἀνέθηκα.. "at my own expense have dedicated."

Having completed our measurements of the Temple, we again went to the Necropolis to examine it more leisurely than we had done before. It contains apparently not fewer than two, or three hundred buildings of unburnt brick, ranged without attention to regularity, and of various sizes and shapes. The greater number of them however are square, surmounted by a dome, similar to the small mosques erected over Shehks' tombs, having for the most part a corridor running round, which produces an ornamental effect very striking at a distance, and gives them a nearer resemblance to Roman, than to any existing specimen of Greek or Egyptian architecture. Some few are larger than the rest; one in particular is divided into aisles, like our churches; and that it had been used as such, by the early Christians, is clearly evinced by the traces of saints painted on the wall. Many have Coptic or perhaps Greek inscriptions, but written in a hand not legible, and a few Arabic. In all



A.E. f. and on Stone by A. Aglio

THE NECROPOLIS NEAR EL CARGE

we entered there is the Greek cross, and the celebrated Egyptian hieroglyphic, the Crux Ansata ☥ which originally signifying life would appear to be adapted as a Christian emblem either from its similarity to the shape of the cross, or from its being considered the symbol of a state of future existence. But the great peculiarity is a large square hole in the centre of each, evidently for the purpose of containing a Mummy, and which, from the fragments and wrappings that lay scattered about, had probably been ransacked for the sake of plunder.

It is therefore obvious that these buildings formed a cemetery to the town which stood near or about the temple of El Cargé, and were subsequently used for sacred purposes by the Christian inhabitants, or at a later period, as places of retreat to them when persecuted by the Mohammedans.

I should imagine these sepulchres to be of Roman construction at an early period, since it is generally believed that the prac-

tice of embalming was gradually discontinued in Egypt after the extension of Christianity; but among the various receptacles for the remains of the dead, from the stupendous pyramid to the rudest cavern, I know of none existing or recorded, at all corresponding with them in shape and appearance. Considering them therefore as highly curious from their structure as well as unique of their kind, I sincerely hope that any future traveller who may come here, will particularly direct his attention to them, and that moreover he will be able to do what we could not, make faithful transcripts of the inscriptions.

The account afforded us in the ancient authors with respect to the locality of the Oases, is as far as it goes quite satisfactory. The Arabic geographers on the other hand are less clear; nor is it very easy to follow or comprehend their sites and positions, but as they contain some curious information, it may not be uninteresting to the reader to

have the statements of both previous to my giving the result of my own observation.

Among the moderns, this subject has been very ably discussed by D'Anville, Michaelis, and Major Rennell, more especially the latter, and I have frequent occasion to refer to their opinions and arguments; but still they laboured under the disadvantage of want of local investigation, and in consequence were not unfrequently reduced to argue upon supposition.—Indeed Michaelis, in lamenting our ignorance of many interesting circumstances relating to Egypt, says, * "Nobody has ever been to the Faioum who was skilled in astronomy or able to ascertain where he was, and none has ever approached the El Ouahs at all." Hartmann † also at the end of his dissertation adds "I have collected the differ-

* Abulfeda cum notis Michaelis. Gott. 1771, Oct.

† Edrissi curavit Hartmann. Gott. 1796. Editio altera, 8vo.

ent relations concerning the Oases, but am unable to put them together; let him do so to whom it may ever happen to visit these regions." With such encouragement therefore I feel myself justified in proceeding in my enquiry.

Herodotus * in his account of the march of Cambyses's army against the Ammonians mentions its arrival at the city Oasis. As other writers speak of this place, and it is of consequence to my subject to ascertain its site, I shall endeavour to do so hereafter, and at the same time make some further remarks on this celebrated expedition.

Strabo † refers to the Oases in three or four passages; the following are translations of the two of most importance. "The Egyptians call the inhabited tracts surrounded in a circle by great deserts,

* Herodotus, Thalia, Sect. 26. p. 207. Fol. Ed. Wesseling. Amst. 1763.

† Strabo, Xylandri. p. 940,

like islands in the sea, Auases as there are many in Africa. Of these, three border upon Egypt and are subject to it*." Afterwards † "Of the three Auases I have mentioned the first is towards Abydus distant from it seven days' journey over the desert, and is well supplied with water, wine, and other necessaries. The second is towards the lake Mœris, and the third near the oracle of Ammon. And these habitable districts are worthy of notice."

Pliny's remarks are very brief: "There are two Arsinoite nomes, which, together with the Memphite, reach to the upper part of the Delta; to which the two Oasitæ are conterminous ‡."

Ptolemy § gives us the latitudes of the

* By an error of the transcriber, all the editions of this author have Anaseis for Auaseis, which is a mode of spelling equally common with Oaseis.

† Strabo, Xylandri, p. 940.

‡ Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. 5. cap. 9. Ed. Delph. 4to.

§ Ptolemæi Geogr. Montani. Franckfort 1605, folio.

Great Oasis—26° 30′. The Small—28° 45′.

Olympiodorus, however, who, as native of the neighbouring region of the Thebais, was the most accurately informed respecting this region, though his tendency to exaggerate cannot be denied, makes the following valuable observation: "There are three Oases; two large ones—one of them exterior, and the other interior, lying opposite to one another, a hundred miles apart. There is too a third small one, at a considerable distance from the other two, which is an island, as fish, or fragments of fish, are often seen in the mouths of birds, which makes it probable the sea is not far off*."

Such then is the information the ancient authors afford us respecting these districts collectively. The Arabic writers are more diffuse, though less distinct in their statements; but, for reasons before given, I shall quote their remarks at full length.

* Olympiodorus apud Phot. Bibl. page 192.

Abulfeda speaks only of the Alvahatæ in general, which, he says, is a region abounding in palms and springs*. "The desert surrounds the Alvahatæ like islands in the middle of the sand, and there is between them and the Said† a desert of three days' journey."

The author of the book Lobad writes the name Alvach, and says it is a celebrated region of Egypt, which is contiguous on the west to the deserts of Africa. Jacutus‡, in his Homonymes, declares it should be written Vachatas without the Al, and adds, "there are three regions to the west of the Said of Egypt beyond the mountains, which run parallel with the Nile, and are called the first, middle, and farthest Vachas. Of these the first is cultivated, and has warm springs, with a fœtid smell; and the palms,

* Abulfeda a Michaelis Gott. 8vo.

† Said is the modern Arabic name of the Thebaid.

‡ Of Jacutus, or Jakyt, I can obtain no information, except that he was author of a Geographical Dictionary. D'Herbelot does not mention him.

among other things, are greatly to be admired; the fields are well tilled, but the people wretched."

Hartmann* has given us the passage from Jacutus more in detail—"Three regions, which bound the Said on the west, are called Alvahat. Egypt is terminated on the east and west by a chain of mountains, which include the Nile, like wings on both sides, from the beginning of its course, till the eastern reaches Al Mokattam, and then breaks off. Beyond this is nothing but the desert of Arabia, and the Sea Kolsom†. The other runs to the sea (Mediterranean). Beyond the western chain of mountains is the first Al Vah, which, commencing opposite the Faioum, extends to Assouan. This region is inhabited, and abounds in handsome villages, and palms, the fruit of which excels that of any other part of Egypt. A

* Edrissi, a Hartmann, Gott. 8vo.

† Kolsom is the Red Sea, and the desert here spoken of is not what is now called Arabia, but that desolate tract which lies between Egypt and this sea.

line of mountain running in the same direction as the other, divides this from a second Al Vah, which is not so well inhabited as the first. Beyond this, separated in the same manner by another ridge, is a third Al Vah, which is still less cultivated than the other two. In this is the city Sinmaria, with an abundance of palms, and copious streams of brackish water, which the inhabitants of this tract drink; and if they taste any other, they find it insalubrious. There are six stations between the farthest Al Vah (or the extremity of the Al Vah) and the country of the Nubians, inhabited by barbarous tribes like the Luvatæ and others." Hartmann declares he is ignorant where the city of Sinmaria, or Sanmaria is, but thinks it can hardly be Santariah spoken of by Edrissi, which is the same as Siwah.

Edrissi, in the 4th Section of the 1st Climate, informs us, "Al Vahat is near Assouan, to the west of it. This region, which is now desolate and uninhabited, was formerly well peopled. Streams run through

it, and trees and deserted towns still remain. So also from the back of this region to Cavar and Cucu, the country is covered with palms, and ruins of buildings. Ibn Haukal * relates, that "there are in this district goats and sheep quite undomesticated, which fly from men, and are pursued by hunters like wild beasts. The greater part of the Alvahatæ extend farther down, and there are ruins, concerning which, God willing, I will treat hereafter."

This account of the ruins unfortunately has not been preserved to us, as Hartmann remarks in his note—"There is, no doubt, much left out between this and the preceding paragraph, by the Epitomiser. For instance, the description he promised of the ruins is wanting, and many other things, the loss of which we much lament." Edrissi tells us afterwards, in the 2nd Section

* Ebn Haucal, author of a prolix book on geography, cited frequently by Abulfeda, lived in the tenth century. D'Herbelot—Art. Haucal. Sir Wm. Ouseley has, I believe, translated his work into English.

of the 4th Climate, "That the remaining part of the region, Al Vahat, runs to the south as far as the country of the Taguitæ. Between Al Vahat, in which are serpents, found no where else, and the boundary of Nubia, is an interval of three days."

This same editor, in his notes, gives the following passage from Ibn el Vardi *. "There are places called Alouhat, inhabited by Berbers and blacks, abounding in villages, where the heat is very great. They are situated along the mountains, which are between Egypt and the desert. Wild asses are found there, spotted black and white, (Zebras?) which are so attached to the country, that they die when they leave it. Formerly much saffron and sugar-cane was grown in this district."

* Zeineddin Omar Ben Modhaffer Ben al Vardi, who died in the year 749 of the Hegira, was author of a poem on the explication of Dreams, and likewise of a Work on Arabic Geography. D'Herbelot—Vardi.

. Having, I fear, trespassed too much on the patience of the reader, I shall finish these quotations by remarking that Leo Africanus * concludes a list of the "Islands" which stretch across the north of Africa, with Gadamis, Fizza (Fezzan), Augila, and Eloah, and in another place informs us that the El Ouah is a country situate in the desert of Libya, a hundred miles from Egypt, where there are three forts, many houses, rich fields, and an abundance of date trees.

It appears clear, then, that the ancients considered the Oases connected with Egypt, to be three in number, though the Arabic writers both divided and enumerated them

* John Leo was a Mohammedan by birth, born at Grenada; when his native place was taken in 1492, by Ferdinand and Isabella, he retired into Africa, where he resided a considerable time and was thence called Africanus. He embraced christianity under Leo Xth, who highly esteemed him. He died about 1526, leaving a very valuable geographical description of Africa, written in Arabic; and likewise a work on the lives of the Arabian Philosophers.

differently. The most northerly was that of the Ammonians where was the temple and oracle of Jupiter Ammon, which has been spoken of and described by so many ancient authors. It is not my intention to sift into their evidence, but merely to state in a few words the result of modern enquiry respecting this celebrated spot.

Siwah, on the great caravan road between Egypt and the west of Africa, was long supposed to correspond with the site of it, but still its locality was not accurately ascertained, and much was left to vague conjecture. Under this uncertainty, Browne, who had arrived at Alexandria in the month of January 1792, determined to explore it previous to prosecuting his grand object of penetrating into the Soudan. Accordingly, on the 27th of February he set out, and following the same direction as Alexander the Great, coasted the Mediterranean as far as Bareton, near the ancient Parætonium, and then turning southwards, reached Siwah the twelfth day. He found the Oasis in which

that town is placed, extremely luxuriant and fertile, extending about six miles in length, and four and a half in width, which accords well enough with the ancient accounts. There were also the remains of an Egyptian temple of great antiquity, but of such small dimensions, being only 32 feet long, by 15 wide, that he could not imagine it to be that he sought, though he could hear of none other near.

In 1798 it was again visited by Mr. Horneman, who was sent out by the African Association for the purpose of exploring the Fezzan, and the adjoining countries. His account differs materially from Browne's, both as to the extent of the Oasis, and the size of the temple: but these discrepancies are accounted for, and in some degree reconciled, by sir William Young, secretary to the Association, in an appendix to Horneman's Journal. That Siwah was the site of Ammon, has since been satisfactorily proved by major Rennell, in his valuable work on the geography of Herodotus, but should any

doubt still exist, it may be considered as set at rest, by some agents, lately sent there by Mr. Bankes, having, I am informed, discovered the triple enclosure, and the Ram's head, the distinctive mark of Jupiter Ammon. The same author likewise identifies Siwah with the Santariah of the Arabic geographers, though this name is not known to the natives. It lies in 26° 24′ E. Longitude, and 29° 12′ North Latitude.

The ancient writers, though they generally agreed in placing the Oasis Parva near the lake Mœris, had but a very imperfect knowledge of its situation, which is not to be wondered at considering that it lies out of any regular line of communication. Ptolemy indeed marks it in 28° 45′ North Latitude, but in giving us the meridian as measured from Alexandria, he would place it due south of the lake. Since, however, his position of the lake itself, as well as of one or two leading points in this district is obviously erroneous, it would be in vain to trust to him as a guide to what is more re-

mote and uncertain. Major Rennell has endeavoured to ascertain the site by calculation; the result of which is that he would look for this Oasis at Bahnasa, which Abulfeda lays down about eighty three geographical miles to the west of another place of the same name, the ancient Oxyrinchus; but he allows that he goes upon mere conjecture. Here the matter rested, until Mr. Belzoni undertook to explore this portion of the desert in the month of May 1819. Quitting the Nile at Sediman, and proceeding in a westerly direction, on the sixth day he passed by Regen El Cazar, a cultivated spot now deserted, and on the ninth arrived at the El Ouah El Cazar; a journey which occupied him but seven days on his return. The extent of ruins which induced him to imagine that he had discovered the temple of Ammon, render it probable that this El Ouah was the principal position of the less Oasis; but it must be confessed that it is farther to the west than we should have been led to expect. In fact its distance of

four or five days' journey to the south east of Siwah would agree well with Edrissi's site of Ain Cais (the fountain of Cais) the Fons Solis of Ptolemy; and the peculiarity of the spring which Belzoni describes, may perhaps strengthen this opinion. I must leave to others to decide this point, but it seems very clear that the district of the less as well as of the great Oasis, was composed of a certain number of inhabited spots, though the name was sometimes merely applied to the principal. Among these were the El Ouah el Haix discovered by Belzoni three days to the south of El Cazar, and perhaps the most southerly was the El Ouah El Gherbi mentioned by Browne as only two days to the north of El Cargé. The following passage from D'Anville much confirms this idea: "Nous n'avons aucun notion actuelle correspondante au petit El Ouah, mais je vois la petite Oasis partagée en deux dans la Notice de l'Empire, puis qu'une Poste en cette Oasis (Oasi minore) en ajoutant le nom de Trinytheos est du department de la Thebaide."

With respect to the Oasis Magna, there is no room for difference of opinion, nor do I imagine that any doubt has ever existed of its occupying that portion of the Libyan Desert, which extends about 100 miles from north to south, from El Cargé to Mughess, and contains besides them about four or five cultivated stations which intervene. Strabo, it is true, would remove it to seven days' journey from Egypt, while caravans now perform the journey in four or five; but he clearly means the same by placing it opposite to Abydos, which coincides with the situation of El Cargé; and the difference between that place and Ptolemy's position is not very material*. As the cara-

* Ptolemy lays down Oasis Magna 26° 30′ N. L. whereas I have marked El Cargé at 26° 1′. I do not think a difference of 29 minutes, should this be correct, is sufficient to make us doubt the identity of the two, more especially as Ptolemy's knowledge of the geography of the Desert is not very accurate, as I have shown above. With regard to the longitude, as I imagine the site of this place has never been accurately ascertained, I have ventured to place it considerably more to the east than Browne, in order to make it

van route between Egypt and the Soudan passes through this region, several Europeans have traversed it; among others Poncet*, Vansleb, and Browne, in 1798; but it is certainly very singular that not one should ever have heard of the splendid ruins, some of which lie almost in their path. Edrissi distinctly mentions them, and, in the passage we have unfortunately lost, has most probably performed his promise of describing them.

But one author, ancient or modern, appears to have known, or at least distinctly mentioned the farther or more western

agree with our calculations. This is done with deference, and is open to correction, but as El Cargé has hitherto been marked, we should have travelled three miles and a half an hour between it and the Nile, which exceeds every average.

* Poncet was a French physician, who was sent into Abyssinia on a special mission by Mr. Maillet, the French Consul at Cairo in the year 1698. The Jesuits strongly opposed his journey, and raised a great outcry against him, by their endeavours to invalidate his statements. I regret not having seen his work.

Oasis; a silence the more extraordinary as the extent of the ruins, and especially the traces of Roman stations, which prove a regular communication when belonging to the empire, render it very improbable that the geographers of that age should have been wholly ignorant of it. On the other hand, if it had been known, the peculiarity of situation would hardly have allowed it to be passed over; and that it ever should have been considered a part of the Great Oasis, seems nearly impossible from the space between them, and from the ridge of mountain which nature has marked as the barrier between the two. Such, however, is the case; and to Olympiodorus we are indebted for the only account of this singular district. His description is clear and explicit: "There are three Oases, two large ones, one exterior and other interior, lying opposite to one another, a hundred miles apart." From ignorance of the existence of this, D'Anville imagines that our author refers to the position of the less

Oasis to the north of the Great; but the relations of exterior and interior can only apply to the respective situations of the Great Oasis with that I am describing. Besides which the distance he makes between the two very nearly agrees with our calculation. It is just possible that Edrissi alludes to this, when he says, "From the back of the region (the Great El Ouah) as far as Cucu and Cavar, are a continuation of ruins and palms." The Arabic geographers called the northern part of that portion of Libya joining this region Cavar, and the southern Cucu; if, therefore, the back mean literally the farther side of the ridge of mountains, which forms the western boundary to that El Ouah, the ruins and palms here spoken of must belong to this. Jacutus mentions three Wahs running parallel to one another. As we were positively told that there is none beyond this to the west, Major Rennell is probably right in considering the Sanmaria, which Jacutus places in his farthest, as Santariah or Siwah; but if

so this geographer strangely confounds the positions of the others. We calculated that this Oasis lies between 26° and 26° 20′ north latitude, and extends from 27° 45′ to 28° 24′ east longitude.

I mentioned above my intention of returning to the consideration of Cambyses's expedition, and the site of the city Oasis. Herodotus relates as follows*: "The troop, who were sent against the Ammonians, leaving Thebes, followed their guides, and appear to have reached the city Oasis, which those Samians †, who are said to be of the Æschrionian tribe, inhabit, distant from Thebes seven days' journey across the sand; which region is called in Greek Μακάρων νῆσοι (Islands of the Blessed). The army is reported to have arrived thus far, but what became of it afterwards nobody

* Herod. Thalia. p. 205, Wesseling. Folio, Amst. 1763.

† Who these Samians were I do not pretend to determine. Valknaer and other commentators have written upon this passage, but nothing satisfactory.

knows except the Ammonians, and those who have heard from them: for the Persians neither reached the Ammonians or returned back. These people, however, relate, that when the Persians had advanced half-way between the city Oasis and them, during supper a violent south wind came on, and overwhelmed them in the sand, and that they thus disappeared."

The author of the Universal History says there were two cities of this name *, "not properly in Egypt, but on the borders of Libya." I do not know his authority for this assertion, but it is by no means improbable that the capital towns in both the Oases, Magna and Parva, had the same appellation. At all events it seems evident, that that Herodotus mentions was the chief city of the Oasis Magna, and was situated near the temple of El Cargé, as part of the inscriptions given above, in addition to the splendour of the ruins, will go far to prove.

* Universal History, vol. i. p. 174. Fol.

"Cnæus Valerius Capito, to Posidonius, commander of the Oasis. The city being . . . . . I require you therefore to affix them (the decrees) separately in the chief city of the nome, in clear and legible characters engraven on a column; and let this be done speedily." Here then are the decrees engraved on one of the entrances to the temple, therefore it is fair to presume that this was the chief city of the nome. Pliny, Lib. 5. cap. 4. speaks of "Ibi Civitas Ocensis;" and Michaelis quotes Cellarius, and D'Anville the Notitia Imperii, to show there was a Roman station called Ibi or Hibe in the Oasis attached to the Thebaid. In addition to this, Evagrius*

* Evagrius Hist. Eccles. Lib. 1. Cap. 7.

Evagrius Scolasticus, an historian of eminence, was born at Epiphania, A. D. 536. He wrote an Ecclesiastical History, which begins where Socrates and Theodoret leave off, for which he was rewarded by the Emperor Tiberius and Maurice. A good edition in folio was published by M. de Valois at Paris, and republished, with additional notes, by William Reading at Cambridge 1620.

in giving the words of Nestorius's letter: "By the edict of the emperor I was sent to Oasis, which is known likewise by the name of Ibis;" ascertains that as these two places were the same, the city Oasis must have been near the Thebaid. We may farther remark that seven days is by no means too long a time, as Michaelis imagines, for an army encumbered as the Persian was to occupy on its march from Thebes to El Cargé, and that the situation of this latter place would not lie out of the way between Thebes and the country of the Ammonians. There can hardly be a doubt, therefore, as to the locality of the city Oasis.

Herodotus tells us, that the inhabitants of this district were Samians, and the Ammonians* a mixture of Egyptians and Ethiopians, but a curious passage from Josephus†,

* Edrissi and Ibn el Vardi both assert that Santariah (Siwah) is inhabited by Berbers mixed with Arabs.

† Josephus contra Apionem. Lib. 2.—Καὶ γεγενημένος ἐν Ὄασι τῆς Αἰγύπτου, πάντων Αἰγυπτίων, πρῶτος ὢν, ὡς εἴποι τις. Whiston

shows that in his time the population of these remote tracts was considered as pure Egyptian. In attacking Apion he accuses him of wishing to be considered a Greek, when he is an Egyptian, and says "He belies himself, and that too, being born in the Oasis of Egypt whence he is, as one would say, the first of all Egyptians." Under the Empire the whole of this region was attached to the great central province of Egypt, the seven nomes; and in after-times when Christianity was established it was still of some consequence; for Vansleb informs us that he copied from a Copt manuscript, a list of ninety eight * Bishop-

Whiston gives these words a different interpretation, but I have translated them literally, and certainly understand from them, that a native of the Oasis was most especially and genuinely an Egyptian. Michaelis, too, considers this the meaning of the passage.

* The jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Alexandria extended itself at a very early period over Egypt, Libya, Pentapolis, and Nubia; and Abyssinia was added to it by the labours of Frumentius, who was consecrated Metropolitan Bishop of Axuma by St. Athanasius A.D. 335. When the Alexandrian Church embraced the

ricks into which Egypt was divided at the time of its schism with the Catholic Monothelite Heresy, its example seems to have been followed not very long after by its different provinces, for prior to the Mohammedan invasion we hear, that besides the ninety eight, or according to other accounts the eighty Bishopricks of Egypt, there were seventeen in Nubia, and five in the Pentapolis and Libya, besides the Metropolitan Abuna, and the whole Empire of Abyssinia, subject to the Jacobite Patriarch.

Christianity was first obliterated in Barbary where its followers did not very long resist the power of the conquerors. It is likewise quite extinguished in Nubia, though Vansleb tells us that when he travelled in that country A. D. 1673, the Churches preserved a degree of freshness which seemed to indicate that their desertion had occurred at no very distant period: Burckhardt and other modern travellers attest the frequency of them. This event may not improbably have finally occurred at the conquest of the country by Sultan Selim the beginning of the sixteenth century, though the decay was progressive.

In Abyssinia the Christian Religion still prevails, though it is said to be at a very low ebb, partly from the incessant wars in which that empire is engaged with its Pagan neighbours, and in a great measure, from the ill-directed zeal of the Jesuits in their endeavours to establish Catholicism in opposition to the dominant religion, which distracted the country for more than

Church, the two last of which were Vah (El Ouah) and Vahipsai.

two centuries. The first introduction of this order into Abyssinia, was occasioned by an invitation of the Emperor David to John III. King of Portugal to send him troops to reduce some rebel provinces, and missionaries to instruct him in the Orthodox faith. At the command of the Pope Julius III. Ignatius Loyola who had now firmly established his order of Jesuits deputed John Nûnez, with the title of Patriarch, and Andrea Ovidio and Melchior Carnero his coadjutors A. D. 1550, to accomplish this arduous enterprise. The "Lettres Edifiantes" contain an interesting account of the characteristic perseverance, and various success with which these and subsequent missionaries followed up their undertaking; and though they underwent a perpetual state of persecution and their lives were not unfrequently sacrificed; a constant succession was never wanting to prosecute this object until the suppression of the order. In Egypt, besides a considerable number of the Greek Church who have likewise their Patriarch, though they are principally strangers by extraction, about twenty thousand Copt families still survive, notwithstanding the oppression and tyranny under which they have constantly laboured. Their number is however diminishing, though there are but few converted to Mohammedanism, and the seventeen Bishopricks Vansleb found, are now reduced

History has preserved to us but few records of the Oases; and these almost entirely relate to them as places of banishment. Whether they were thus applied when Egypt was governed by its native Dynasties or the Greeks does not appear; but the Roman Emperors found them conveniently situated as receptacles for state delinquents, and as Ulpian * informs us, established them by law for the purpose. In the Digests L. 48. Tit. 22. reference is made to this practice; but it would seem,

to ten. Besides this author's History of the Alexandrian Church, there is an interesting account of its rites and ceremonies, in the "Lettres Edifiantes, Mission de l'Egypte:" and the Abbé Renaudot published a valuable History of the Jacobite Patriarchs of Alexandria to the end of the thirteenth century at Paris 1713.

* Ulpian was tutor and minister to the Emperor Alexander Severus. He was a zealous persecutor of the Christians; and very celebrated as a lawyer and legislator. Being anxious to introduce reform among the Prætorian Guards, he was murdered by them A. D. 226. Fragments only of his works on jurisprudence remain.

that, properly speaking, they were only to be employed for a temporary confinement* of six months or a year, and not perpetual banishment, though this was not very strictly attended to.

The first celebrated person who underwent this exile was the Poet Juvenal. His biography is obscure, nor do all writers agree upon it, but we may gather, that having offended the Emperor Domitian by the freedom of his satire, or by abuse of his favorite the comedian Paris, he was sent first with an honourable command to Pentapolis in the Thebaid, but afterwards in disgrace to the Oasis. He returned, however, to Rome on the death of that Emperor A. D. 96. and lived till about 128.

Timasius an eminent General was banished here by the Emperor Arcadius, through the intrigues of his favorite Eutropius A. D. 396; but it was during the religious dissentions occasioned by the Arian con-

* Relegatio is the word used, and never exilium.

troversy, that this mode of punishment was principally resorted to by the stronger party towards the weaker. Letters of Athanasius are still extant addressed to his disciples who were undergoing this grievous durance, and indeed it has been asserted, though without sufficient authority, that this illustrious champion of Orthodoxy ended his days in exile at the insulated territory of the Ammonians.

But among the eminent victims who were doomed to expiate their religious errors in these desolate tracts none deserves mention more than the celebrated Heresiarch Nestorius. Four years after his condemnation by the council of Ephesus, he was banished first to Petra in Arabia, and afterwards to the city Oasis, "called also Ibis," by the younger Theodosius, A. D. 435. *Evagrius has preserved two of his letters to the Prefect of the Thebaid: in one he mentions his sentence, and in the other he relates his capture by the Blemmyes, and subsequent res-

* Evagrius, Hist. Ecl. Lib. 1. Cap. 5.

toration by them. "After the Oasis was, as I mentioned above, taken by the barbarians (Blemmyes), and completely laid waste and devastated by fire, they who, for what cause I know not, carried me off, suddenly took compassion and dismissed me, adding threats, however, if I did not instantly leave the country, for they said the Mazici were to take possession as soon as we left it." After 16 years spent in persecution and misery in various parts of Egypt, he died at Panopolis.

I cannot quit this subject without mentioning a few circumstances relating to the Blemmyes. Strabo* describes them as subject to the Ethiopians, and inhabiting both sides of the Nile, on the borders of Egypt, to which country, being a nomade race, they became very troublesome neighbours. They first came into notice by assisting Firmus in his unsuccessful revolt against Aurelian, A. D. 273; but as they extended their inroads, and got possession of Coptos and

* Strabo, Xylandri. L. 17. p. 786,

Thebes, the emperor Probus, four years afterwards, completely conquered and drove them out of the country. They were still however, unsubdued, and are mentioned as a formidable race in the reign of Diocletian, about 287, when that emperor made a defensive treaty with the Nubians against them, and erected a temple in the island of Philœ, to celebrate this connexion. The *last mention we have of them in history, is their sending ambassadors to Constantine A. D. 320, acknowledging his sovereignty, and claiming his friendship and protection.

Pliny† asserts a curious peculiarity of this people, namely, that they had no heads, their mouths and eyes being fixed in their breasts: but the author of the Universal History‡, gravely considers this as undoubtedly fabulous, and probably proceeding from

* In Niebuhr's Nubian Inscriptions, mention is made of the conquest of the Blemmyes by Silco, ruler of the Noubæ.

† Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. 5. Cap. 8.

‡ Universal Hist. vol. vi. p. 201. Folio Edit.

the shortness of their necks. Vopiscus, in his Augustan History, however, gives testimony to the extraordinary appearance some Blemmyan captives made whom Probus brought to Rome to decorate his triumph.

Though our examination of the Great Oasis had been but partial, and we were informed by the natives of some further antiquities; the conviction that we were forestalled as discoverers, together with the desire we felt of allowing ample time for the numerous objects of curiosity on the banks of the Nile, none of which we had yet seen, aided perhaps in some degree by the "desagrémens" of desert travelling, induced us after some deliberation, to resolve upon returning at once to Egypt. Accordingly, Feb. 27th, we quitted El Cargé at seven o'clock, and at one arrived at a well, where we filled the skins, and rested half an hour. Close by are the ruins of a Roman fortress, consisting of a large enclosure of unburnt brick tolerably perfect, with considerable vestiges of tiles and pottery: probably one

of the three mentioned by Leo Africanus, vide page 120. In the afternoon leaving the plain we ascended the range of mountain which forms the eastern barrier to the valley of the El Ouahat, and pitched our tents at six o'clock.

The two following days we continued travelling uninterruptedly about 12 hours each day, over uneven ridges in nearly a due east direction. On the third, March 2d, we started at seven, and, after winding gradually down into a defile between two precipitous rocks, to our great joy, about ten came unexpectedly in sight of the Nile. In two hours we were fairly in the valley of Egypt, and after stopping a short time at the first village to refresh our horses, turned rather towards the south, and before five reached Farshout, about three miles from the river; a place of some importance, being governed by a Turkish Katchief, and mentioned by Abd-Allatif in his Census.

March 3d. As our Bedouins by agreement left us here, we were detained till

twelve in getting asses and fresh camels. On quitting Farshout, we continued for some time in the richly luxuriant plain; but on arriving at a village on the borders of the desert, halted till sun-set. At seven o'clock we once more entered an arm of it, by a gradual ascent, to save us an immense detour; and finding by 10 o'clock no soil to hold the strings of our tents, we slept that night in the open air.

March 4th. By the middle of the day we again descended into the cultivated country, and at sun-set took up our lodging at a small village. A march of about five hours the following day brought us to our point of destination at Esneh, where we rejoined our boat, which had arrived twelve days before.

Our expedition had occupied twenty-four days from the ninth of February to the fifth of March, during which we reckoned we had travelled near six hundred miles.

Since writing the above pages I have had an opportunity of seeing a copy of a splendid work, entitled, "Voyage a l'Oasis de Thebes et dans les deserts situés a l'Orient et a l'Occident de la Thebaide;" edited by M. Jomard member of the French Institute, and published lately at Paris. It consists of three parts. The first relates to travels and discoveries made to the east of the Nile, by M. Cailliaud. The second is an account of a journey to the Great Oasis of Thebes, by the same author; and the third is the narrative of an expedition, by M. Drovetti, to the more western, known to him by the name of the valley of El Dakel. Upon the two latter I shall make a few remarks.

M. Cailliaud left the Nile at Esneh, in June 1818, and, proceeding westward, reached the Thebaic Oasis at the village of Hagageh. To the south of this place he found the temple of Douch el Qalah; and to the north another, in the vicinity of Bûlac; but his principal discovery was the

magnificent edifice near El Cargé, of which he has given an ample description, with drawings and plans. His representations of the temple are beautifully engraved, and very tolerably faithful, though they do not do justice to the richness of the surrounding scenery; but that of the sepulchres by no means gives a correct idea of them. There is no material difference between his measurements of the temple and ours; but there is some discrepancy in our plans, for, in the third chamber he places four large columns, whereas, we have marked eight smaller ones; and he very minutely traces out the divisions of the side apartments, which we were unable to do from their ruined state, and the sand with which they were filled. M. Cailliaud expresses great surprize that so many travellers, and especially Browne, should have overlooked the splendid ruins he discovered; but it is rather curious that he himself, though professedly in search of antiquities, should have passed by the Temples of Cazar el Goetta,

and Cazar el Zian. Such omissions may, however, easily be accounted for, for until the ignorant natives are in some degree accustomed to strangers, a traveller, unless he knows what to look for, finds frequent difficulty in making them understand, or in persuading them to conduct him to the different objects of curiosity.

M. Drovetti left Egypt at Siout, and proceeded to El Cargé by the regular caravan road; discovered there the two temples mentioned above, omitted by M. Cailliaud, and then followed the same route by which we returned, by En Amour to Bellata. I cannot, however, but observe, that though he professes to have made this journey the latter end of the year 1818, it was in fact in the month of February 1819: and whereas he announces himself* as the first European who had reached the farther Oasis, or Valley of Dakel, in modern times; it escaped his memory that on the 21st of February, about three or four in the afternoon, he, on his

* Voyage a l'Oasis, &c. p. 53.

way to Bellata, about half a day's journey from it, met, and had some conversation with us, who were on our return. On his way back to the Nile, he followed the same course as we had taken in setting out.

The time occupied by M. Cailliaud between Farshout and El Cargé, and by M. Drovetti between the latter place and Bellata agrees very nearly with our calculations; but there is a material difference between the situation of these towns in the map drawn by M. Jomard, to illustrate the narratives of these travellers, and in that we have attempted to lay down. One of the chief causes of this is, that the French geographer has taken a much less average than we for an hour's march. The rate of two English miles and three quarters for the longer journey, and three miles for the shorter in direct distance, is, I am fully aware, more than is usually allowed; but it must be taken into account that our camels being few in number, and but lightly laden, travelled considerably faster than

when heavily burdened, and encumbered by a numerous caravan; and that in a journey from one point to another across the desert, the deviations from the straight line cannot be great. The best reason, however, for adopting this scale is, that by it we are enabled to make our calculations of the sites of the main points agree with one another, which would not otherwise be the case; and for the same cause we have placed Bellata only seven minutes to the north, whereas M. Drovetti makes it due north-west of El Cargé*. The difference then amounts to this.

El Cargé, according to Browne	29° 1′	E. Long.
	26° 25′	N. Lat.
According to M. Jomard	30° 31′	E. Long.
	26° 12′	N. Lat.
According to us	30° 10′	E. Long.
	26° 1′	N. Lat.
Bellata according to M. Jomard	29° 28′	E. Long.
	26° 48′	N. Lat.
According to us	28° 25′	E. Long.
	26° 8′	N. Lat.

* M. Drovetti, page 104, admits the difficulty of correctly estimating the camel's pace; in point of fact,

But the Valley of Dakel affords a still wider field for contention, since the French map and ours have a difference of not less than a quarter of the compass, in the relative positions of the places in this Oasis. M. Jomard indeed confesses, that in this part of his subject he is working in the dark, for he says:* "M. le Chevalier Drovetti a qui j'ai l'obligation de l'itineraire du vallon d' el Dakel n'ayant fourni que des distances approximatives, et peu de directions je ne donne cette partie que comme conjecturale." Perhaps under these circumstances it would have been better not to have ventured upon a map at all, though M. Jomard could not foresee the extent to which he would be led astray.

M. Drovetti in commencing his tour of this Oasis, as we did from Bellata, gives

any calculations made from it must be but vague, and nothing can be attempted but to give a very general idea of sites and positions. Of course we do not pretend to vouch for the accuracy of any one of ours.

* Voyage a l'Oasis, &c. p. 13.

the distances and respective sites of some of the villages, but omits that of others; the consequence is, his geographer having neither charts or bearings to assist him, is confused, and, I know not why, makes this valley of Dakel extend north and south instead of east and west.

That M. Drovetti should have made this mistake on the spot is scarcely possible, and a passage in his journal will prove that one at least of the main points in M. Jomard's map is placed in a wrong direction*: "Du Qasr faisant route au Nord, on peut en moins de quatre jours aller a l'Oasis de Farafré d'ou l'on passe a la petite Oasis." Now as Qasr or El Cazar is marked in his map at the southern extremity, it would be absurd to make this calculation from thence; but we have placed it to the north-west, which would be the natural point to reckon from: if too the valley runs to the south instead of to the west of Bellata, why does the route from the Thebaic Oasis join it at the

* Voyage a l'Oasis, &c. p. 104.

most northern, and consequently most distant point instead of the more southern and nearer?

M. Drovetti mentions all the places we have marked in our map, but as differently situated with respect to one another. Our positions were taken with a compass from an eminence, but as many of these places were at a distance we may not improbably have been mistaken, and our guides may have called one by a name which belonged to another. Whether this is the case or not I must leave to future travellers to decide, and I heartily hope that the present favourable opportunity of visiting Egypt, will not be allowed to pass by without the geography of this interesting district being correctly ascertained.

THE END.

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